

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)

PUERTO RICAN GROUPS

SECTION 4 (153-203)

105-93124



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOTICE

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Puerto Rican

105-93124

Sec 4 (153-203)

FBI

Date: 12, 19, '66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)
FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) P
SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR
PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
IS - PRN

Re San Juan airtel 9/22/66 and Bureau letter 10/20/66.

Cartoon described in referenced San Juan airtel and authorized in referenced Bureau letter was mailed under secure condition to selected individuals of the PIP, FCP, NPPR, ISP and MPIPR with the following results:

On 11/14/66, [redacted] a source [redacted] made available a copy of the cartoon saying the PCP feels the cartoon is in some way connected with the NPPR and the return to Puerto Rico of NPPR [redacted] who would prefer to keep the NPPR separated from the MPIPR and other independence groups due to the greatly different political ideology..

On 11/15/66, [redacted] made available a copy of the cartoon saying he had heard during discussions with other independentists that the MPIPR leadership believes the cartoon was published by the PCP in an effort to discredit JUAN MARI BRAS and the MPIPR because the PCP is jealous of MPIPR successes.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (105-32872) (RM)
- 1 - San Juan

cc retained
REC 10 105-93124-1

ACC: amf
515 JAN 9 1967
F485
1307

12 DEC 22 1966

EX-104

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____
SUBV CONTROL

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

On 12/12/66 [redacted] a source [redacted] made available a copy of "El Intransigente" (the Irreconcilable), the official NPPR publication for November, 1966, in which appeared a full-page reproduction of the cartoon to which had been affixed the title "JOHNNIE WALKER" and a note at the bottom which translates: "This is not an announcement of the favorite Scotch whiskey sold in San Juan." [redacted] stated the cartoon was published at the insistence of "El Intransigente" Director [redacted] who is adamant in his hatred of JUAN MARI BRAS and the MPIPR and would do anything to embarrass and harass the latter organization. It is noted MARI BRAS is called "JOHNNIE" by acquaintances in the independentist community.

San Juan Office Analysis

As is obvious from information from [redacted] the CPC feels the cartoon emanated from the NPPR and represents an effort to maintain the NPPR as a separate organization due primarily to the ideological differences between the NPPR and the leftist-communist groups, such as the LSP, CPC and MPIPR.

Information furnished by [redacted] points up a basic rift between the do nothing PCF and the rather dynamic MPIPR and the fact that the MPIPR feels the CPC is jealous of their successes.

It is noted that the NPPR publication "El Intransigente" is a widely read organ throughout the independentist community, always selling out immediately after printing, and the reproduction of the cartoon in "El Intransigente" had an unexpected double value in greatly expanding the circulation of the cartoon as well as pointing up the fact that the NPPR in no way trusts JUAN MARI BRAS and his unity efforts, and feels such efforts are intended only for the purpose of seizing control of the entire independentist community.

SJ. 105-3353 Sub 1

This past publication of the cartoon in "El Intransigente" will have additional long-range results and repercussion in the independentist community, and the San Juan Office will be alert for such results.

SAC, San Juan (105-3353-Sub 1)

1/5/67

Director, FBI (105-93124) - 202

SI-120 REC-57

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Reurlet 12/19/66.

Bureau authority is granted to prepare and mail the anonymous letter as recommended in referenced letter to selected members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. You must insure that the letter will be prepared and mailed in such a manner that it cannot be traced back to the Bureau or any of its employees.

Advise the Bureau of results.

1 - 100-335202 [REDACTED]

TWK:bjr EGR
(9)

NOTE:

See memorandum [REDACTED] to W. C. Sullivan, dated 1/4/67, same caption, prepared by TWK:bjr.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Bishop _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. Felt _____
- Mr. Gale _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Tavel _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

MAILED 19
JAN 5 1967
COMM-FBI

53 JAN 12 1967
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 12/19/66

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub-1)

SUBJECT: *C.D.H.*
J.C.B.
GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
INTERNAL SECURITY - PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST

Re Bulet 11/21/66, and Bulet 10/27/66, captioned
[REDACTED] SM-PRN".

As the Bureau has been advised, process against [REDACTED] has been dismissed based on the [REDACTED] case precedent. Therefore, no counter-intelligence measures calculated to create additional friction between the MPIPR and the LSP over the [REDACTED] case have been drawn up. However, as set out in the [REDACTED] report currently in SJO dictation, there has been a marked increase in cooperation between [REDACTED] and the NPPR.

[REDACTED] in recent months has been a featured speaker at NPPR [REDACTED] and a source has advised that a merger of the NPPR and [REDACTED] LSP is being considered. The following draft of a letter is being submitted for Bureau approval in order to counter this prospective merger and to terminate NPPR cooperation with [REDACTED].

If approved by the Bureau, the letter will be suitably translated into Spanish and mailed to selected NPPR members, including all national officers. No copy will be mailed to [REDACTED] but he will undoubtedly be apprised quickly of the letter's contents.

EX-108

REC 22
REC 57

105-93124-202

DEC 27 1966

2-Bureau (105-93124) (RM)
1-San Juan (105-3353 Sub-1)
PEG:vaf
(3)

cc retained 8092

ST-120

DEC 30 3 16 64 PM

SUBV. CONTROL
[Handwritten signature]

Please cc -
[REDACTED]

105-93124-202
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

11/17/67
TAK/EGP



The favorable reference to JUAN MARI BRAS' exclusion of [redacted] and the unflattering description of [redacted] attributed to MARI BRAS are calculated to create additional friction between [redacted] and the MPIPR and may create a suspicion that the letter was actually written by the MPIPR in an effort to disrupt increasingly cordial relations between the NPPR and LSP.

It is noted that [redacted] was [redacted] of the NPPR and second in command to PEDRO ALBIZO CAMPOS ("Don Pedro") when the latter dismissed him from the NPPR in 1943 because of his [redacted] communist activities. [redacted] a figure whose mystique the NPPR was constructed and who is revered almost as a saint, was a firm Catholic and adamant in barring communists from the "Party" (NPPR). It is therefore surprising that [redacted] has been able to reassert himself with the NPPR without apparent protest from "Albizuistas". This may be due to the fact that he does not appear at NPPR meetings but has thus far restricted himself to "guest" speaker roles at NPPR functions. At any rate, this letter should bring the issue into the open.

The "Accion Patriotica" referred to in the letter is the Accion Patriotica Unitaria (APU) which slowly disintegrated following an internal struggle between [redacted] and anti-communist [redacted] for leadership. Sensing defeat in that struggle, [redacted] and his followers withdrew to form the LSP.

APU merged with the Accion Patriotica
in 1943

P.G.

SJ 105-3353 Sub-1

"Dear Friends:

"I am sending copies of the letter to leading Nationalists in order to protest the rebirth of that infamous communist and divisive influence, [REDACTED]. For several years he has deservedly been an obscure figure but in recent months he has been a prominent speaker at Nationalist ceremonies. It seems that he is attempting one last time to wear the mantle of the beloved DON PEDRO, to whom he refers constantly in speeches and newspaper writings. He also has an endless fund of anecdotes linking himself to DON PEDRO in a manner most flattering to himself. How disgraceful!

"Has it been forgotten that DON PEDRO personally dismissed [REDACTED] from the Party? Are we to dishonor the memory of DON PEDRO by welcoming a communist to our platforms? And worse yet, has there not even been talk of merging the Party with the Liga Socialista of [REDACTED]. It seems that [REDACTED] now that DON PEDRO is no longer here to deny him, may [REDACTED] in his lifelong ambition to dominate the Party.

"And there is no doubt that [REDACTED] will attempt to seize the leadership of the Party. Has he not fought for sole leadership and brought to ruin every organization with which he has been associated since his dismissal from the Party? Licenciado MARI BRAS has correctly observed this and will have nothing to do with [REDACTED]. He has described [REDACTED] as extremely vain, more than a little crazy and as an obstacle to independentist unity. While the Party has its own areas of dispute with MARI BRAS and the MPIFR, surely there can be no quarrel with the above description nor with the intelligent decision of MARI BRAS to exclude [REDACTED] completely from cooperation with the MPIFR. The Party should do no less.

SJ 105-3353 Sub-1

"In the colonial plebiscite and compulsory military service we have two popular issues that offer us our greatest opportunity for growth in many years. But if [redacted] is allowed to continue his strategy to assume control of the Party, then the Party and all we have struggled for will be doomed. Yes, we will have lost faith with DON PEDRO and will be worthy only of contempt. Leaders, you must act now! Before it is too late you must rid us of this communist jackal forever or the fate of the Accion Patriotica awaits the Party.

"I am not a coward, but neither am I young and strong anymore. If this letter has its desired effect, [redacted] pack of young thugs will seek retribution against the writer in their usual manner; for that sufficient reason, I prefer to remain anonymous.

"Down with [redacted] Down with communists!

"A nationalist forever".

SAC, New York (105-32872)

12/13/66

Director, FBI (105-93124)

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

**GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)**

Reurairtel 12/5/66 captioned "Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, IS - PRN."

It appears that the underlying reason for the reorganization of the New York junta of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico was to overcome the factionalism which has prevailed therein for a considerable period of time.

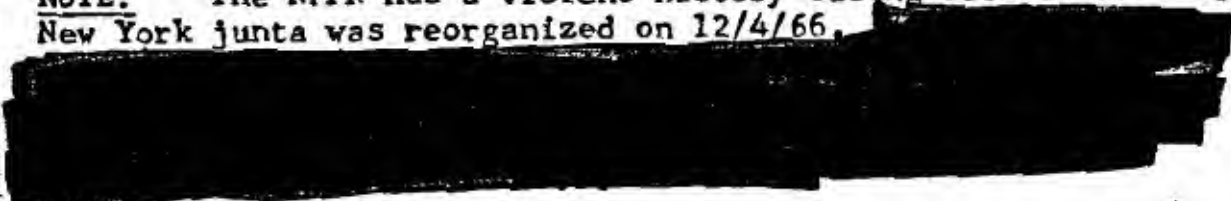
As you are aware, a unified Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico junta in New York is undoubtedly much more dangerous than it has been in the past few years. You are, therefore, requested to devise suitable counterintelligence measures to cause dissension within the New York junta, and submit your recommendations to the Bureau for consideration.

This matter should receive your immediate attention.

TWR:rdh (6)

1 - 62-7721 (Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico)

NOTE: The NPPR has a violent history dating back to 1920's. New York junta was reorganized on 12/4/66.



DEC 13 1966

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Wick
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

S1-114

105-93124-214

F336

REC 26

25 DEC 18 1966

Handwritten initials: JPH, WNF, TWR

MAL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico

APPENDIX

1.

NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO (NPPR) -
NEW YORK JUNTA

On May 13, 1963, a source furnished the following information:

The New York Junta (or New York Municipal Board) of the NPPR was formed in 1943. Since its inception, the New York Junta was supposed to operate under the control and direction of the NPPR National Board, located in San Juan, Puerto Rico; however, on occasions, this did not work out in practice.

On May 10, 1966, a second source furnished the following information:

The New York Junta has approximately ten active members, but there are approximately 50 individuals in the New York City area who consider themselves Nationalists "at heart" and can be counted upon to attend New York Junta sponsored public functions.

The New York Junta has the same aims and purposes as the NPPR parent organization, which are to establish Puerto Rico as a free and sovereign republic. The NPPR has proved by past terrorist acts that the use of violence to achieve its goal would be condoned.

The NPPR has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The New York Junta activity consists primarily of promoting the cause of independence through sponsoring and participating in public demonstrations and commemorating specific past events, having significance to the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The New York Junta has no headquarters and its meetings are held at the residence of the members. It elects its own officers and is generally autonomous in NPPR affairs in the New York City area.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Sum
Mr. C. D. DeLoach

Mr. J. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- DATE: 11/3/66
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SECRET

Tolson	
DeLoach	
Mohr	
Bishop	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

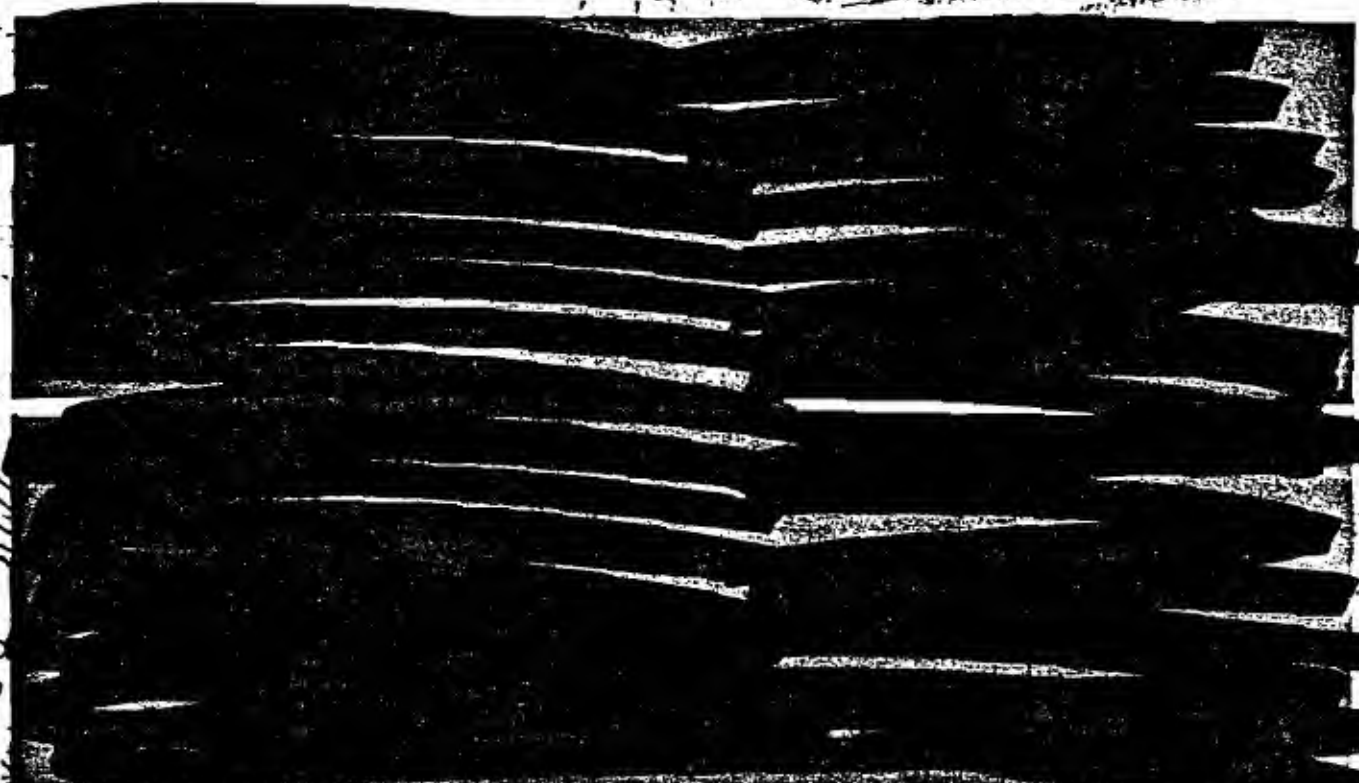
GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
INTERNAL SECURITY-PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST

PURPOSE:

To advise that the conference on Puerto Rican Nationalist matters was held as scheduled on 10/31/66 and 11/1/66 with representatives from the San Juan and New York Offices in attendance. Officials and Supervisors of this Division and a representative from the Laboratory were present.

DETAILS:

Classified by 6080/LED/68
 Exempt from GDS by 213
 Exempt from E.O. 11652 by 213



05-66754
 1 - 105-80787
 1 - 1-43
 TWK:sjs (13)

NOV 25 1966

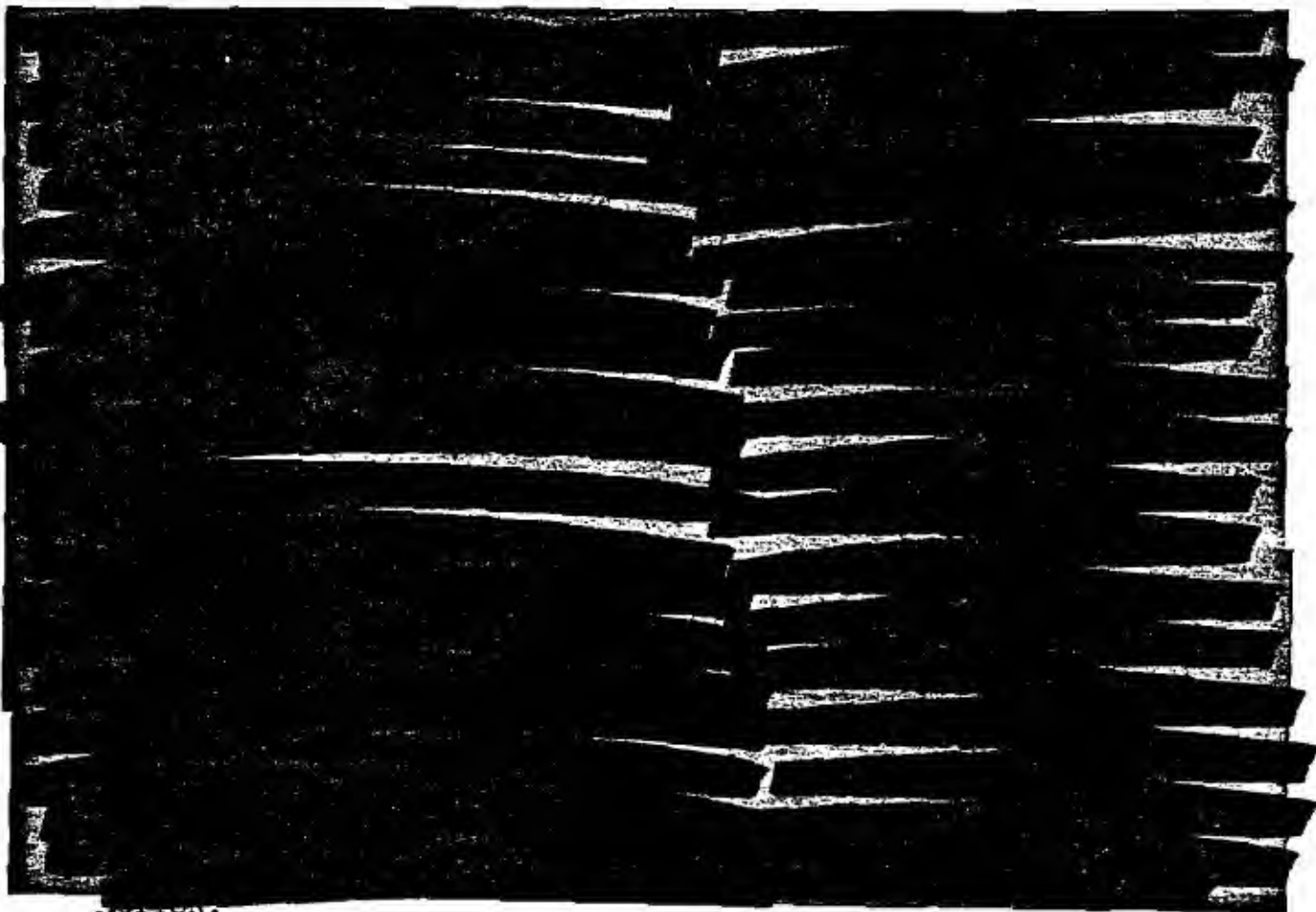
CONTINUED - OVER

500
 144

Handwritten notes and signatures on the right margin, including a large signature that appears to be 'K. J. [unclear]'.

Memorandum W.C. Sullivan to W.D. Lemoach
Re: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
105-66754

To accomplish these aims, the conference unanimously recommended the following:



Specific suggestions and recommendations of the conference, noted above, will be handled by separate memorandum, and where necessary, appropriate instructions will be issued to the field.

Handwritten signatures and initials:
W.C. Sullivan
W.D. Lemoach

✓
- 2 -

Stamp:
SECRET

Handwritten initials: ds

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 11/21/66

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-32872)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR
PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
IS-PRN

ReBulet 11/10/66.

The NYO has no additional information concerning the remarks of JUAN MARI BRAJ made on 7/29/66, as reported in New York airtel of 8/3/66, which might assist the San Juan Division.

If the SJO draws up material suitable to widen the schism between the NPPR and the MPI, the NYO feels that each junta of the KPPR, or person therein should receive a copy. Such a letter should be made to appear it emanates from the MPI. Probably a better plan, if the SJO has such a contact, is to have some reference of RIVERA's vacillation appear in a San Juan newspaper.

REC-65

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York

RKS:mrn
(5)

cc to [unclear]

62 NOV 28 1966



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SAC, San Juan (105-3353)

11/21/66

Director, FBI (105-93124)

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

**GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
INTERNAL SECURITY - PRN**

ReBulet 10/27/66 captioned [redacted]
Security Matter - PRN."

There is a possibility that the Department will decide that the Government will take the Selective Service Act case against [redacted] to trial. It is imperative that leaders of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR) not participate in [redacted] defense.

Since one of the leaders of the MPIPR was physically attacked by a member of the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueno (LSP) during the past year, it would not appear that the two organizations would cooperate in any matter. [redacted] as you are aware, is a member of the LSP. To preclude the chances of any cooperation between these two groups, it is desired that counterintelligence measures be designed to create additional friction between the MPIPR and the LSP.

This matter should receive your immediate attention.

1 - 105-117409 [redacted]

TWK:pag
(8)

REC-39

NOTE: [redacted] is on the Security Index. He is a current member of the LSP, a Marxist-oriented group seeking independence for Puerto Rico. He was arrested 4/20/66 for failure to submit to induction processing. [redacted] of the LSP, was quoted in June, 1966, as stating that he had severed all relations with the MPIPR.

MAILED 3
NOV 18 1966
COMM-FBI

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Wick
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

F495
NOV 25 1966
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NOV 22 1966

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 117409

FBI

Date: 10/27/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ REGISTERED _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-32872)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

K. J. [Signature]

ReBulet 10/20/66, SJairtel 9/22/66.

New York recommends that a total of 8 copies of the cartoon, enclosed with reBulet, be mailed as below:

[Redacted] Bronx, New York

[Redacted] New York, New York

[Redacted] New York, New York

[Redacted] New York, New York

- (3) - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York (105-2168)
- 1 - New York (105-1870)
- 1 - New York (105-55659)
- 1 - New York (100-121213)
- 1 - New York (100-147372) (PROGRESSIVE)
- 1 - New York (105-47061)
- 1 - New York (105-2120)
- 1 - New York (105-46237)
- 1 - New York (105-32872)

REC-43

105-93124-178

OCT 28 1966

SUBV CONTROL

RKS:mrp
15)

[Signature]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

58 NOV 19 1966 Special Agent in Charge

NY 105-32872

[REDACTED]
New York, New York

[REDACTED]
Bronx, New York

[REDACTED]
New York, New York

[REDACTED]
New York, New York

The NYO will remain alert to the results of the mailing of the cartoon and advise the Bureau and San Juan accordingly.

A Xerox copy of the cartoon is attached for each New York file to which it will be ultimately mailed.

SAC, San Juan (105-3353 sub 1)

11/10/66

Director, FBI (105-93124) - 177

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

EX 1m
GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
IS - PRN

ReSJlet 10/27/66.

It is noted that relet was directed to Bureau and New York, but New York did not receive copies thereof. San Juan score form error to personnel responsible. Enclosed for New York are two copies of relet and one copy of its enclosure.

Bureau feels that letter of [redacted] to Juan Mari Bras, can be put to good advantage as disruptive tactic. In planning this, San Juan should consider highlighting [redacted] letter as attempt by him to curry favor or to "kowtow" to Juan Mari Bras, despite Mari's violent attack on the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico as mentioned in New York airtel to Bureau in captioned matter dated 8/3/66. San Juan received a copy of this airtel. In drawing up its material, San Juan might consider getting across the fact that [redacted] letter to Mari shows a definite weakness on his part at a time when a repudiation of Mari's remarks in New York should have been made. If New York has any additional information on Mari's remarks which would assist San Juan in this matter, this should be promptly forwarded to San Juan.

2 - New York (Enclosures - 3)

JJD:frw
(8)

NOTE: Mari is head of MPIPR and [redacted] of NPPR, Puerto Rican Independence Groups. At a conference held in New York City in 7/66, Mari attacked NPPR with NPPR members present at the conference. San Juan has obtained copy of letter written by [redacted] to Mari which was made available by [redacted] to NPPR members. San Juan presently attempting to draw up material, including utilization of this letter to widen the gap between MPIPR and NPPR. In this regard, San Juan solicited suggestions or opinions of Bureau and New York Office.

56 NOV 17 1966
F-385

NOV 10 1966
COMM-FBI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 sub 1)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
IS - PRN

DATE: 10/27/66

[Handwritten initials and marks on the left margin]

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York is the translation of [redacted] letter distributed to NPPR members by [redacted]. This letter was furnished to the SJO by [redacted].

The SJO is of the belief that this letter reflects an attempt on the part of [redacted] while soothing the ruffled feathers of the NPPR members, to help the NPPR and MPIPR drift closer toward unity for Puerto Rican independence.

The SJO is also of the belief that this letter, or its parts, could be utilized to widen the schism between the MPIPR and NPPR and is presently attempting to draw up suitable material toward this end.

The Bureau and NYO are invited to examine this letter, and any suggestions or opinions they might have will be greatly appreciated by the SJO.

[Handwritten mark]

2-Bureau (105-93124) (Encl 1)
1-San Juan (105-3353 sub 1)
EDM:jkm
(3)

[Vertical stamp: RECEIVED]

REC-68

[Handwritten file number: 105-93124-111]

NOV 3 1966

OCT 31 1966

[Handwritten stamp: SUBV. CONTROL]



September 21, 1966

Dear fellow citizen:

Because I consider it extremely important that all fellow citizens of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico be well informed of the truth concerning our position about the unity of the struggle for our National Liberation, I transcribe this letter which I wrote to Counsel JUAN MARI BRAS, Secretary General (Acting) of the MPIPR:

"September 14, 1966

"Counsel JUAN MARI BRAS
Acting Secretary General
MPI
Rio Piedras, PR

"Dear JUAN:

"I have just received your letter, dated September 12, 1966, 'personal delivery' given to me by our mutual friend [REDACTED]

"It is true that the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico has reserved the Revolution Square in ~~Lares~~ to hold the functions to commemorate the things we celebrate on those national dates.

"I honestly did not think that the MPI expected an invitation from us for the celebration of the Grito de Lares. As you know, the Nationalist Party invites the whole nation to this celebration. The MPI, as an organization, and its members as Puerto Ricans, lovers of our independence, have never been excluded from this invitation, and especially, not now, when the patriotism of the Puerto Ricans is going through so many hardships which might be determining for the future of our Country.

105 931 34-197

Anyway, the Political Commission of the MPI, according to a communication dated March 17, 1966, to the Nationalist Party, will not take part in functions in which the MPI has not been organizing, and knowing that this was the answer received by the Nationalist Party when they invited the MPI to commemorate the Ponce Massacre on March 21, 1966, in this case we did not make a special invitation, for the celebration of the Grito de Lares is sponsored by the Nationalist Party.

The attitude of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico has been and is one of good faith in everything which concerns the defense of our Country. If it were not this way, it would have stopped existing. The expressions of forgiveness of the [redacted] towards his enemies when he was losing his strength cannot be forgotten. In teachings of that kind is based the strength of the Nationalist Party, which we will maintain until the proclamation of the National Independence, date when the the Nationalist Party will become historical for the Puerto Rican Nation.

As sincerely as I have been talking to you all my life, I want to tell you that I was very surprised by the following: You will remember that before your last trip to the US we had a one hour interview, provoked by a good friend who was in Puerto Rico at the time. You will remember that then you told me that you would call me as soon as you returned to continue talking about the problems which affect all of us who struggle for the defense of our independence. You returned, did not call me, and I thought that your work had not permitted you to do so. A few days after your return I had to go to New York for a few days. I was surprised to find out that in a closed function held by the MPI, to which were invited several nationalists, including the President of the NY Junta, and the Secretariate, they had to abandon the room, because they could not stand the attacks you made on Nationalism! I say that this surprised me from you, after we had our conversation. If this had

happened, without us having talked, I would not have been surprised, for as I told you several times, some MPI members have made public attacks on Nationalism in publications as well as MPI functions. As you will remember, it is one of the themes I have brought up from the first time we talked. I still maintain what I told you in our first interview. The union is in the patriotic people of ours. The people, there is no doubt, are showing wisdom and patriotism. It is about time that patriotism be understood in the way of courage and sacrifice, as the Maestro showed us. Courage and sacrifice are needed to reach the height demanded by patriotism at the present time. I want to tell you that Nationalism is ready that way.

"Concerning the Lares function on September 23, I wish to tell you that we cannot fix an exact time for its ending. The organizations which will take part are several and I don't think it will be finished at 5. Last year it ended in the evening, and there were not as many people invited. Anyway, we don't want to obstruct functions which you or another organization, defender of the ideal might want to hold. It is not necessary to say that the ideal patriotic meeting to be held in Lares is the most desirable, made possible one day by a brotherly revision of attitudes and opinions.

"Don't doubt for one moment that the function which the MPI will hold on that day will be attended by many nationalists. I am sorry I cannot be with you, for moral reasons which you, as an honorable man, can easily understand.

"With my best wishes of success, I remain,

"Sincerely,

/s/ 

It should be understood that this communication, as a whole, should be used for your information, and not for publicity. The time now is one of total renunciation to personal matters within all those who struggle for the liberty of our Country,

inspired as we all should be by the principle taught to us by the Maestro of the Country, [REDACTED] that the Nationalist Tribune is an altar of patriotism where you have to renounce to everything, with courage and sacrifice to preserve pure and virtuous the nationality of all the Puerto Ricans and that the "Nationalism is the Country organized for the rescue of its sovereignty."

We should not be surprised, on the other hand, by the fact that many Puerto Ricans have raised other tribunes to defend the independence of Puerto Rico. That is the Marching Revolution, began by [REDACTED] which nobody or nothing will stop until the Free and Sovereign Republic of Puerto Rico is proclaimed. Until that moment arrives, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico will be strong in its position and with its arms open for all Puerto Ricans. P.K.

/s/ [REDACTED]

FBI

Date: 9/22/66

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub I)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
 COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 (SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
 IS - PRN

1013 11/1/7

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is one photograph each of _____

As the Bureau is aware the MPIPR has expended considerable time, effort and money during recent weeks to bring about a so-called "united front against the plebiscite", which front will ostensibly unify all independence-seeking groups in Puerto Rico to fight against a proposed plebiscite in which the people of Puerto Rico will vote concerning the direction in which the Puerto Rico political future should be pointed, i. e. independence, continued Commonwealth status, or statehood. These efforts have had considerable results as illustrated by recent public declarations by PIP President _____ and MPIPR Secretary General _____ calling for a boycott by all independentists of such a plebiscite, and "statehood will come to Puerto Rico only over the bodies of thousands of independentists."

JUAN MARI BRAS
 3-Bureau (RM) (Enc. 5) ENCLOSURE
 1-New York (RM) (105-32872) REC-35
 2-San Juan
 ACG:zhc
 (8)

105-93124-196

SEP 26 1966

DC-WICK

cc returned
8043

"ENCL BEHIND FILE"
EX-110

SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: 5 NC Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SJ 105-3353 Sub I

Additionally, LSP leader [REDACTED] has recently endorsed the plebiscite boycott objective and statements concerning possible violence should such a plebiscite be held. Also, he has made several expressions of sympathy with NPPR objectives. Additionally, there are many indications that the MPIPR now has direct influence within the PCP in the form of [REDACTED] PCP member and Secretary of the SIO and leader in the Confederacion de Uniones Independientes Puertorriquenas (Confederation of Independent Puerto Rican Unions) (CUIP). Through this influence the MPIPR has plans to infiltrate the various labor unions in Puerto Rico and thus take over control of them. To further this aim, the MPIPR has offered members, money and propaganda printing services to the CUIP.

The SIO notes that the above maneuvers have been effected [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and the rank and file members of the group are for the most part unaware of developments and it appears quite certain that if such intergroup maneuvering was public knowledge immediate friction and distrust would develop.

In this connection, with the double purpose of letting the general public and the rank and file membership know of the above maneuvers, and also to make them aware of MPIPR dominance of the situation and efforts in the labor field, the below-described very simple counter-intelligence technique is proposed:

The Document Section should prepare a simple roughly drawn cartoon of four French poodles, superimposed over a sketch of Puerto Rico. The heads of the poodles should be replaced by the enclosed photographs of [REDACTED]. The poodles bearing the appropriate heads should have the letters NPPR, LSP, PIP and PCP on the body area. Leashes should run from each dog's neck to the hand of a caricatured sketch of an individual bearing the head of [REDACTED]. A figure on the order of the one portrayed on John Walker Scotch Whiskey bottles is suggested here. The impression should be of [REDACTED] talking his dogs.

JUAN MARI BRAS

MARI

Thus, the implication would be that the MPIPR, as personified by [REDACTED] dominates and manipulates the other groups according to his will.

↓
MARI BRAS⁻²⁻

SJ 105-3353 Sub I

At the bottom of the sketch should appear the words "La Palabra es Unidad" (The Word is Unity). "Despierte Independentista, Defiende lo Tuyo" (Wake Up Puerto Rican, Defend What is Yours).
Independentist,

These two phrases, both catch phrases used by the MPIPR, would imply the cartoon originated with the MPIPR.

The SJO feels that this measure, while simple to prepare, affords an excellent opportunity to drive a rift between the various groups and hence proposes to mail described cartoon to selected members of each group involved to assure that it reaches the appropriate people. It would also be mailed on a limited basis to certain NPPR and MPIPR members in New York.

subject
If Bureau approves this tactic, Bureau should request the Document Section to immediately prepare 200 copies of proposed cartoon and forward same to the SJO for secure mailing.

If tactic is approved, New York should furnish SJO with limited mailing list (perhaps ten people total) of both MPIPR and NPPR members in New York City.

authority
Bureau is hereby solicited to put this tactic in effect.

~~Mr. DeLoach~~
~~Mr. Sullivan~~
~~Mr. [redacted]~~

SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

10/20/66

Director, FBI (105-93124)

- 1 - Mr. [redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]
- 1 - Mail Room

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(Subversive Control Section)

ReSJairtel 9/22/66.

Enclosed herewith are 200 copies of a cartoon depicting Juan Mari Bras holding leashes attached to four poodles with heads of independentists leaders. Enclosed for New York are two copies of this cartoon.

You must insure that the cartoon will be mailed in such a manner that it cannot be traced to the Bureau or to any of its employees.

New York should, if not already done, furnish San Juan with a mailing list in New York City as requested in reairtel.

Advise the Bureau of the results of this disruptive tactic.

Enclosures 200

REC 53

2 - New York (105-32872) (Enclosures - 2) 105-93124-145

24
6 OCT 26 1966

TWK:sjs (13)

EX-114

NOTE:

By memorandum 9/28/66 approved by the Director, it was recommended that the Exhibits Section prepare attached cartoon for anonymous mailing to selected independentists in Puerto Rico and New York. This cartoon was designed to hinder any unified action on the part of the various independence groups and to create bickering between them.

COMM-FBI
OCT 1 1966

- _____ Tolson
- _____ DeLoach
- _____ Mohr
- _____ Bishop
- _____ Casper
- _____ Callahan
- _____ Conrad
- _____ Felt
- _____ Gale
- _____ Rosen
- _____ Sullivan
- _____ Tavel
- _____ Trotter
- _____ Tele. Room
- _____ Holmes
- _____ Gandy

53 OCT 28 1966 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Ways

off

TAD



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Wick _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- DATE: 9/28/66
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

[Handwritten initials/signature]

PURPOSE:

To recommend the preparation of a cartoon by the Exhibits Section of the Administrative Division depicting Juan Mari Bras, the leader of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR), as dominating the other subversive and independence groups in Puerto Rico for anonymous distribution in Puerto Rico and New York. The cartoon is designed to promote discord among the various groups seeking independence for Puerto Rico.

BACKGROUND:

A plebiscite is being considered by the Puerto Rican Government to determine if the people of Puerto Rico desire statehood, independence or to retain their present, commonwealth form of government. Historically, the independence groups have fought among themselves; however, faced with certain knowledge that the Puerto Rican people will overwhelmingly reject independence at the polls, the proindependence leaders are attempting to form a common front to fight the holding of the plebiscite.

The MPIPR is the principal subversive group advocating independence for Puerto Rico. San Juan has proposed that the Exhibits Section prepare a cartoon of four French poodles with heads of prominent leaders of the Independence Party, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican Socialist League. A fourth poodle

105-93124
TWK:rdg (7)

EXHIBITS SECTION
EX-104

EXHIBITS SECTION

CONTINUED-OVER

REC-58

93124-194

OCT 4 1966

SUBV. CONTROL

Bland to Sullivan memorandum
PE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUEBTO PICO
105-93124

will have the head of a prominent labor leader who is a member of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico. Juan Mari Bras will be holding the poodles on a tight leash implying MPIPR dominance over other independence groups. The cartoon will contain the slogans "La Palabra es Unidad" (The Word is Unity) and "Despierte Independentista, Defiende lo Tuyo" (Wake Up Independentist, Defend What is Yours). These slogans are used extensively by the MPIPF and will, therefore, imply that the cartoon originated with a member of that organization.

OBSERVATIONS:

The independentists have threatened violence if a plebiscite is held. This threat will be increased materially if the various independence groups are able to form a common front. This cartoon is designed to hinder any unified action on the part of the independence groups and to cause them to spend their time bickering among themselves.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That the use of the poodle cartoon to be prepared by the Exhibits Section be approved as a counterintelligence tactic. If approved, 200 copies of the cartoon on unwatermarked commercial grade paper should be prepared.

Handwritten notes:
✓
6/12
GK
10/12
10/12

SJ 105-3353 Sub I

SJ T-1 mentioned in LHM is [REDACTED]


Public source information concerning
alleged travel of [REDACTED]
was furnished [REDACTED]

San Juan Office Analysis


[REDACTED]

The San Juan Office also notes that the
FUPI - Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto
Rican Independence Movement) (MPIFR) leadership consistently
refuses any approach by Bureau Agents in efforts to interview
them, yet they apparently cannot resist the opportunity
to display themselves publicly in any way which might offer
an opportunity for self grandiosament. [REDACTED]

SJ 105-3353 Sub I



It is believed that this system, if used on a limited basis with certain key leaders of independence groups in Puerto Rico, will continue to be of immeasurable value to the Bureau and the San Juan Office and, accordingly, we will remain alert for further opportunities in this direction.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 Post Office Box 1791
 Hato Rey Station
 San Juan, Puerto Rico 00919

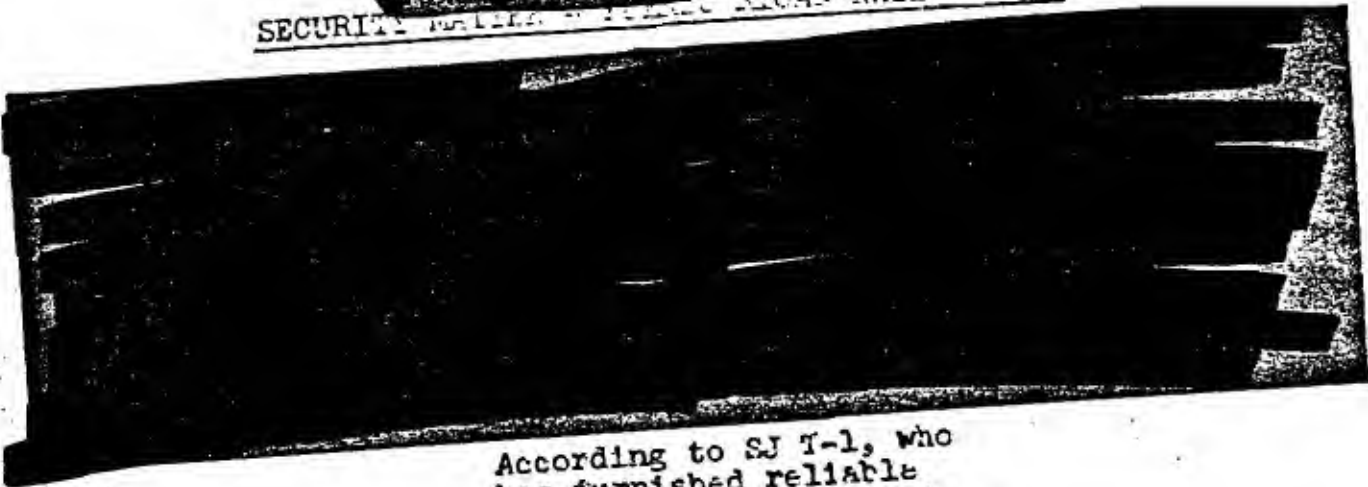
In Reply, Please Refer to
 File No. 105-3353 Sub I

9 SEP 1966

[REDACTED]
 SECURITY MATTER - PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST

[REDACTED]
 SECURITY MATTER - PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST

[REDACTED]
 SECURITY MATTER - PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST



According to SJ T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, the Fourth Latin American Student Congress was sponsored by the International Union of Students (IUS), Prague, Czechoslovakia.

A characterization of the IUS is contained in the characterization of the Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (Federation of University Students for Independence) (FUPI) attached hereto.

ENCLOSURE

105-3353-1

APPENDIX

FEDERACION DE UNIVERSITARIOS PRO INDEPENDENCIA
(Federation of University Students for Independence)
(FUPI)

According to information appearing in "Patria," self-described official organ of the FUPI, the FUPI was formed as a student organization at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, in October, 1956. "Patria" stated that the FUPI was not connected with any political organization and would work for independence for Puerto Rico through logical and peaceful means.

Information received from a confidential source revealed that from 1959 to 1964, FUPI representatives attended various student conferences in foreign countries to promote the cause of independence for Puerto Rico. This source advised on May 28, 1962, that the FUPI was elected an integral member of the International Union of Students (IUS), Prague, Czechoslovakia, in October, 1960, and elected to the IUS Executive Committee, and since October, 1961, had maintained a representative, NARCISO RABELL MARTINEZ, in Prague as a member of the IUS Executive Committee, his salary and expenses paid by the IUS. According to the source, the propaganda activities of the FUPI in the international field have followed the "anti-imperialist" theme of the IUS.

The IUS has been cited by the Internal Security Sub-Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1956 as being among "international communist fronts functioning at the present time," and by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, in 1951, as one of the "long-established Soviet-controlled international organizations."

On March 8, 1965, the above source stated that the primary objectives of the FUPI are to bring about Puerto Rican independence and achieve reform at the UPR. The source stated that the FUPI supports the principles of the Cuban Revolution to achieve national independence.

SAC, San Juan

9/2/66

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

**UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE PLEBISCITE
IS - PRM**

According to the 8/17/66, and 8/24/66, issues of the "Weekly Intelligence Summary, Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands" prepared by your office [REDACTED] President of the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño, has approached the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico regarding the formation of a "United Front Against the Plebiscite." These intelligence summaries indicated that [REDACTED] has stated publicly that a plebiscite would result in a civil war in Puerto Rico and that he joined Juan Mari Bras in a statement that statehood will come to Puerto Rico only over the dead bodies of all Independentistas.

You are requested to immediately submit a letterhead memorandum to the Bureau under above caption setting forth background information and details concerning the efforts of the above-mentioned individuals to form a front group. No investigation is being requested at this time; however, you should continue to furnish the Bureau any pertinent information coming to your attention concerning this matter in letterhead memorandum form. If subsequent events indicate that an active investigation should be conducted, submit your recommendation to the Bureau.

You should be alert for an opportunity to disrupt this budding alliance between these two individuals and their organizations while it is in its formative stage. The development of suitable counterintelligence measures to accomplish this should receive close and continuous attention by your office.

① - 105-93124

WORK: dam/pas
(8) [REDACTED] YELLOW

105-93124-

NOT RECORDED
176 SEP 7 1966

NOTE: Plebiscite is being considered by the Puerto Rican Government to determine the status of the island desired by the people. Juan Mari Bras is the dominant leader of the MPIPR, the largest of the subversive independence groups. The Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño is a legally constituted political party in Puerto Rico.

101
59 SEP 16 1966

Groups See King Independence
From Puerto Rico

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-157412

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 8/29/66

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: San Juan)

Re Bulets, 6/1, 6/27 and 8/4/66.

Re Bulets of 6/1 and 6/27/66 authorized the mailing of two anonymous letters to JUAN MARI BRAS implying that PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (MPIPR) Foreign Relations Secretary [REDACTED] is disloyal to JUAN MARI BRAS and has ambitions to take over as maximum leader of the organization.

Instant anonymous letters were mailed under secure conditions on 6/7/66 and 6/30/66 respectively. To date, no results from this tactic have been noted.

Re Bulet of 8/4/66 authorized the mailing of a troika cartoon to members of the independentist community and selected newspaper writers who have been critical of the independentists. The cartoon was mailed under secure conditions from two post offices near the University of Puerto Rico on 8/9/66.

On 8/25/66, [REDACTED] advised that the above-described cartoon had recently been circulated in the independentist community and although no official statements had as yet been issued, the consensus of opinion was that the cartoon was a disruptive tactic of the CIA.

On 8/29/66, [REDACTED] advised that a cartoon had recently been circulated in the independentist community, which depicted control of the MPIPR by FIDEL CASTRO and the

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Juan
ACG:gjk
(3)

REC 5

EX-110

3 AUG 31 1966

SUBV. CONTROL

54 SEP 6 1966



SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

Cuban Revolutionary Government. Source stated that MPIPR members generally agreed the cartoon originated with CIA or the Police of Puerto Rico.

The Bureau will be advised of any further results.

8/26/66

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

71
Airtel

To: SAC, San Juan (105-3953 SUB 1)

From: Director, FBI (105-93124) — 191

REC-42
GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

Reurtel 8/25/66.

In view of the sensitive nature of the Counter-intelligence Program, the Bureau does not desire proposed measures be submitted on a "unless advised to the contrary by the Bureau" basis. In the future, you should attempt to foresee opportunities to utilize measures in sufficient time to obtain prior Bureau approval through normal means of communication. However, if an opportunity arises to utilize a counterintelligence measure to good effect and there is not sufficient time to obtain Bureau approval through normal channels, you should obtain such authority through more rapid means of communication.

TWK:jak (5) *jak*

NOTE: The Subversive Control Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, has a continuing program to disrupt the activities of the Puerto Rican nationalists groups. San Juan by retel advised that the President of the Federacion de Universitarios pro Independencia was returning to Puerto Rico on that date following travels to [REDACTED]

MAILED 4
AUG 26 1966
COMM-FBI

[REDACTED]

Teletype received less than an hour before scheduled arrival in Puerto Rico.

- ___ Tolson
- ___ DeLoach
- ___ Mohr
- ___ Bishop
- ___ Casper
- ___ Callahan
- ___ Conrad
- ___ Felt
- ___ Gale
- ___ Rosen
- ___ Sullivan
- ___ Tavel
- ___ Trotter
- ___ Tele. Room
- ___ Holmes
- ___ Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

JTB

11-12
T-12

Letter to San Juan
RE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
105-93124

Your comments and suggestions concerning the above are requested. If it appears to you to have merit, you should also furnish the Bureau photographs of the three above-mentioned individuals and advise the number of copies of the leaflet that you would need for distribution.

NOTE:

The proposed leaflet would be a continuation of the counterintelligence program against the MPIPR. The leaflet is designed to expand dissension existing over its ties to Cuba. [REDACTED] is the General Secretary of the MPIPR. [REDACTED] recently headed a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana and [REDACTED] is the representative to the Secretariat of the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana. Caption for the proposed leaflet means freedom for the Puerto Ricans.

PAGE TWO

ON

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO,

ADVISED HE WAS AWARE OF PEREZ' PENDING RETURN TO PUERTO RICO AND

IT IS NOTED

ALL MATERIAL INVOLVED HAS BEEN CONJECTURED UPON BY LOCAL NEWS MEDIA.

END PAGE TWO

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 8/10/66

FROM : *JM* SAC, NEW YORK (67-1777) 



SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
IS-PRN INTERNAL SECURITY - PUERTO RICAN NATIONALS


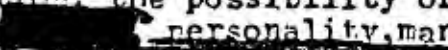

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy



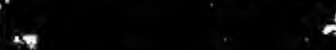
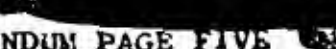
SA 
SA 
RECOMMENDATION FOR COMMENDATION

DECLASSIFIED BY h0501/LE
ON 6-21-97

Reference is made to NYlets 6/8 and 22/66; SJlet 6/15/66; Bulet 6/30/66; SJairtels 7/19 and 28/66; NYairtel 8/3/66 and Buairtel 8/4/66.

The pro-independence movement both in Puerto Rico and the continental United States has historically been led by the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR). In recent years, a competitive organization has appeared in the form of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI), which in some respects, particularly in membership, overtakes the NPPR and has been able to command more popular appeal to some degree, garner international support as evidence of close ties to Cuba. The effectiveness of the NPPR has been compromised by the jailing of many of its leaders with resultant poor direction from inadequately trained and educated individuals having to assume positions of leadership; loss of active members; and factionalist squabbles. Predominantly figuring in the latter category, over a protracted period,  has probably been responsible for more ill feeling in the organization than any other of its leaders. At the February 27, 1966, General Assembly of the NPPR in Puerto Rico,  was elected Vice President of this organization, which, in itself, created an air of uneasiness, and in some quarters, feelings of dismay and resentment.

With the moving of  to Puerto Rico to assume his new position, the possibility of a counterintelligence technique, based on  personality, manner and previous tactics, became evident to 

- (4) - Bureau (RM)
- (1) - Personnel File SA 
- (1) - Personnel File SA 
- 1 - San Juan (Personnel File on 
- 1 - New York (Personnel File SA 
- 1 - New York

REC 5 105-93124-170

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE FIVE

Enclosures

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

DO NOT RECORD

Handwritten notes:
6/15/66
6/30/66
7/19/66
7/28/66
8/3/66
8/4/66

Vertical handwritten notes:
6/15/66
6/30/66
7/19/66
7/28/66
8/3/66
8/4/66

NY 67-1777

In an effort to exploit [redacted] possibility, [redacted] NPPR case agent at New York, reviewed the internal situation within the NPPR both at New York and San Juan. Based on this review, his long experience in Puerto Rican independence matters, his close association with the individual subjects in this area and his knowledge of the animosity created by [redacted] prepared a document pointed toward discrediting [redacted] This document, in the form of an anonymous letter, was designed to be mailed from New York to specific individuals in Puerto Rico with the hope of creating disagreement within the NPPR over the elevation of [redacted] to the second highest leadership position, and/or to promote further disagreement between the NPPR and the MPIPR.

The preparation of such a letter posed several problems; one, the matter of focusing attention for its preparation toward an organization or individual who could have reason and capacity for preparing such a letter; second, the necessity for so wording such a letter that in translation it would appear to have been written in the Spanish vernacular; third, the placing in proper context of various telling bits of information to lend credence to the entire document; and fourth, the statement of facts in such a manner to evoke anger and promote dissension.

[redacted] successfully anticipated and overcame these problems. His letter was prepared attacking [redacted] as a dictator, interested only in personal gain and as an individual who could not be trusted. By innuendo, it was made to appear that [redacted] had not been acceptable as a leader to the late [redacted] the esteemed NPPR titular head, and [redacted] selection after his death could only be construed as a mockery of [redacted] ideals. In order to heighten the suspicion of the MPIPR as the source of this letter, certain slogans and catch phrases commonly used by the MPIPR in their official publications were utilized by [redacted]

To assure the authenticity of this document, it was forwarded to the San Juan Office where it was assigned to [redacted] for review and translation into Spanish. [redacted] has had considerable experience in the investigation of pro-independence matters and is well cognizant of the feelings existing both in the NPPR and the MPIPR. He has been particularly adept at realizing weak points in the pro-independence movement and exploiting these for counterintelligence purposes.

NY 67-1777

[REDACTED] after preparing a colloquial translation, from his experience was able to make an indicated change in context which made the translation more authentic and realistic to the Spanish reader. His wide knowledge of the individuals constituting the NPPR and the MPIPR in Puerto Rico enabled him to compile a suggested list of persons who would probably respond to the contents of the letter. By design, the mailing was restricted to heighten the appearance of authenticity.

After this, the counterintelligence letter was presented to the Bureau and was approved. It was prepared in a non-professional manner, in mimeographed form, according to the exact directions of [REDACTED] and was mailed from New York on July 12, 1966, to those on the list prepared by [REDACTED]

The results of this mailing, to date, have been highly successful. Within a week of this mailing, a San Juan informant reported those NPPR members in San Juan who received the letter were outraged and were firmly convinced that it emanated from the MPIPR; further, they were attempting to determine what action could be taken against the MPIPR. Subsequently, the July 20, 1966, edition of "Carta Semanal", the official MPIPR weekly newsletter sent out to the rank and file membership and sympathizers, devoted an entire page to the repudiation of the anonymous letter. An open letter to [REDACTED] from the [REDACTED] of the MPIPR, [REDACTED] set forth, in which authorship of the letter was denied, the CIA was accused as its author and [REDACTED] was assured of continued MPIPR support.

It is also noted the July 20, 1966, issue of "Claridad", self described as the official organ of the MPIPR, similarly carried the above repudiation which, as a matter of interest, is circulated in approximately 9000 copies, the vast majority of which is outside the pro-independence movement.

[REDACTED] purposely did not mail the anonymous letter to New York subjects in order to heighten the curiosity concerning it and to promote knowledge of it through word-of-mouth, thus leaving room for personal distortions and exaggerations. The effectiveness of this was shown in a speech given by JUAN MARI BRAS, Secretary-General of the MPIPR, in New York City on July 29, 1966, at an MPIPR General Conference, attended by numerous non-members and sympathizers. With the leadership of the NPPR-New York Junta present, MARI BRAS attacked the NPPR, calling them "behind the times, confused and in error", as well as "so called Nationalists".

NY 67-1777

The NPPR-New York Junta leaders stormed out of the meeting and later voiced anger and confusion. [REDACTED] of the NPPR-New York Junta, in referring to the scathing attack made by MARI BRAS, stated that they (New York NPPR members) did not know what was going on in Puerto Rico to cause MARI BRAS to make the statements he did. She angrily denounced his speech and heatedly commented that such remarks "create a bad and confusing situation". The President of the NPPR-New York Junta instructed [REDACTED] to correspond with the President of the NPPR to advise him of MARI BRAS' comments and to strongly suggest that the NPPR sever all association with the MPIPR.

The success of this document may be judged by the reaction of the two individual organizations. The NPPR recommended that all associations with the MPIPR be severed and the MPIPR felt the necessity for a public repudiation, thereby giving the matter greater circulation than the NYO could have achieved by direct mailing. The overall result can best be evaluated from the view that the schism between the MPIPR and the NPPR has been widened, that additional animosity has been created, that personal conflicts have been aroused, and the limited strength of both groups has been further weakened by creating a situation which will diminish any prospects of unity in the pro-independence field.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : [Redacted]

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR
PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]

DATE: 8/5/66

- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [Redacted]

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

As part of our continuing program to disrupt the militant subversive groups seeking independence for Puerto Rico, the New York Office prepared a letter attacking one of the leaders of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. The letter was written as though it were from a member of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR) and was mailed anonymously on 7/12/66 from New York City to selected nationalists in both Puerto Rico and New York City. These two organizations are the largest and most dangerous of the proindependence groups.

The effect of the letter was immediate. A San Juan informant reported on 7/18/66 that members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico were outraged by the letter and considered it a "character assassination" of one of their leaders perpetrated by the MPIPR. The acting Secretary General of the MPIPR, in the absence of Juan Mari Bras who was in New York at the time, directed a letter to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico in which he denounced the anonymous letter as another trick of the Central Intelligence Agency. That denial was then published in the two MPIPR publications thereby giving the anonymous letter much greater publicity. In the meantime, Mari Bras in a speech in New York City, referred to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico as "so called Nationalists" who are "behind the times, confused and in error." This, coming on the heels of the denial of authorship of the anonymous letter, has further confused the rank and file nationalists as to the true state of affairs within the independence movement.

OBSERVATIONS:

REC-13 100-104-189

It appears that the anonymous letter has achieved its purpose of confusing the independence leaders, exploiting group rivalry and jealousy and inflaming personality conflicts. This will undoubtedly thwart any unified action by the two principal independence groups within the near future.

ACTION:

For information.

14 AUG 22 1966

TWR:sjs

5: AUG 25 1966

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

[REDACTED]

NYO Assessment

As reported by the SJO, the NPPR is firmly convinced that the MPIPR was the source of the anonymous letter. The necessity of the MPIPR to issue a public repudiation, devoting a full page in each of its principal publications, is evidence of the hysteria with which they have reacted. The NPPR leadership has every right to infer that the MPIPR's protestations are further indications of their guilt rather than innocence. If the MPIPR had truly desired to exonerate themselves, it would have been more prudent for them to consult privately with the NPPR leadership to present arguments that an "imperialist plot" was responsible. In this manner, the matter would have not become a public issue. The NPPR leadership can logically assume that the MPIPR's public repudiation is nothing more than a means by which to promote and call attention to an issue that can only bring embarrassment to the NPPR. (The SJO, through [REDACTED] is in a position to exploit this argument).

The reprinting of the repudiation in both the MPIPR Carta Semanal and Claridad has given the issue greater circulation than the NYO could have achieved by direct mailing. In fact, many rank and file independentists, regardless of party affiliation, are on the MPIPR mailing list and now have had this matter brought to their attention. Their curiosity, once awakened, will unquestionably demand that they seek out the original anonymous letter or speak with someone who has read it. This will result in further circulation of exaggerations and criptic criticism, based on personal prejudices.

[REDACTED]

NY 105-32872

The perceptive suggestion made by the SJO that this letter receive only limited mailing has resulted in the MPIPR unknowingly furthering the disruptive aims intended. It would now appear that [redacted] as Acting MPIPR Secretary General, in his haste for exoneration, acted in panic and his impulsive disavowal was not in the best interest of the MPIPR.

It is believed that the anonymous letter is serving the purpose for which it was intended, i.e. to confuse the independentist leaders, exploit group rivalries and jealousies, enflame personality conflicts, emasculate the already limited strength of these two groups and to thwart any prospects of pro-independence unity.

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

8/4/66

Airtel

EX-110

To: SAC, New York (105-32872) REC-13

From: Director, FBI (105-93124) - 197 PERSONAL ATTENTION

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

Re San Juan airtels 7/28/66 and 7/19/66.

It appears from referenced San Juan airtels that the anonymous letter submitted by your office by letter dated 6/8/66 has been unusually successful in widening the schism between the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico. You are requested to advise the Bureau of the results achieved by this counter-intelligence measure among the Puerto Rican nationalists in New York. In addition, you are requested to submit your recommendations concerning commendations for responsible personnel. Handle promptly.

1 - San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

TWK:lam
(5)

MAILED 19
AUG 4 1966
COMM. FBI

NOTE:

Subversive Control Section, Domestic Intelligence, has a continuing program to disrupt the activities of the Puerto Rican Nationalist groups. New York submitted letter 6/8/66 for anonymous mailing to selected members of the NPPR and the MPIPR. This letter was highly critical of one of the NPPR leaders and was so written to indicate that it was from an MPIPR member. By airtel 7/19/66 San Juan advised that an NPPR informant stated that NPPR members were outraged by the letter and were discussing actions to take against the MPIPR. San Juan airtel 7/28/66 states that an MPIPR publication contains a letter from the political commission to the NPPR, official involved. In this letter the MPIPR denied involvement and placed the blame on the CIA. San Juan points out that MPIPR is obviously concerned over the effects of the letter within the Independence Movement and that it believes the distrust created by the anonymous letter will open new avenues to utilize counter-intelligence measures.

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Wick _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten signature]

FBI

Date: 7/28/66

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 sub 1) (P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
 COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 (SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
 (OO: SAN JUAN)

Re New York let to Bureau, 6/8/66.

San Juan let to Bureau, 6/15/66.

San Juan airtel to Bureau, 7/19/66.

In addition to results of New York's counterintelligence measure suggested in re New York let, as mentioned in re San Juan airtel, the following is being set forth as further results:

The July 20, 1966 edition of CARTA SEMANAL, the official PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (MPIPR) leadership's weekly newsletter to the rank and file membership, devoted one entire page to a repudiation of the measure, which repudiation translates as follows:

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM) (105-32872)
- 4 - San Juan
 - (1 - 100-3 NPPR)
 - (1 - 105-3401 MPIPR)
 - (1 - 105-3318 [redacted])

*1 - San Juan
T. Wick: Jan 8/4/66*

EX 110

REC-13

*cc retained
105-93124-147*

ACG:GJK
(9)

AUG 2 1966

Wick

K. Tolson
SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: *A. Galt*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

"Letter from the Political Commission to Mr: [REDACTED]

"Repudiates Baseness of CIA Anonymous Letter

"Due to an anonymous letter against [REDACTED] which has been circulating for several days and which seems to be another trick of the CIA, the MPIPR Acting Secretary General, [REDACTED] addressed in the name of the Political Commission, a communication to Mr. [REDACTED] repudiating the baseness directed against his person.

"As part of the imperialist trick, the anonymous letter is headed with the MPIPR motto, 'Wake Up, Puerto Rican, Defend what is yours.'

"The following is the complete text of the letter from [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] dated July 21, 1966:

" ' Distinguished fellow citizen:

" ' A new anonymous trick has circulated profusely during these days among a great number of MPIPR affiliates, which directs against you infamous accusations. In the past, several MPIPR leaders have also been defamed in similar letters, one of which has now been circulated placing a doubt concerning your immaculate patriotic conduct. The source of those letters is, no doubt, the CIA of the U. S., whose methods are well known all over the world.

" ' The falsification of the conduct of the leaders, patriotic anti-imperialist Puerto Ricans, seems to be one of the principal tasks of that imperialist agency. In the letter against you, they are so cynical that they use as a title the MPIPR motto, " ' "Wake up Puerto Rican, Defend What is Yours." ' " Nevertheless, the CIA and its helpers will not be successful in their purposes, will not be able to take the faith out of our people in their leaders, nor will they

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

be able to brake the monolithic patriotic solidarity of our people.

" I want to reiterate again in the name of the Political Commission of the MPIPR, our adhesion and trust before such base attacks. Long live the anti-imperialist struggle for our independence! Receive, finally, our brotherly and solidarized salutation.

/s/ [REDACTED]

MPIPR

The 7/20/66 edition of CLARIDAD, self-described as the official organ of the MPIPR, likewise carried the above repudiation exactly. This organ has a circulation of approximately 9,000 copies, the vast majority of which is outside the independence movement itself.

SJO ASSESSMENT OF THE MEASURE

As is obvious from the fact that it was felt necessary to publish a repudiation of the tactic for the benefit of the rank and file membership, the desired effect of creating confusion in the top level independentist leadership has been achieved. The source of the letter is obviously unknown, it being noted that CIA often bears the brunt of the blame for matters of this nature.

It seems apparent also that the restricted mailing of the tactic, as suggested in re San Juan letter, served greatly to enhance its effect, since [REDACTED] from the text of the above repudiation, obviously [REDACTED] the letter was profusely circulated and has created doubts in the minds of the rank and file. This assumption on the part of [REDACTED] no doubt comes from the fact that past measures of this nature have been widely circulated to the MPIPR membership. The act of publishing of a repudiation in itself enhanced the value

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

of the tactic by showing to the rank and file that the top level leadership was concerned.

Additionally, as stated in re San Juan airtel, the NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO (NPPR) leadership is firmly convinced that the MPIP was the source of the letter and the NPPR is planning retributions against the MPIP.

It is believed the distrust created by this tactic between the MPIP and NPPR will serve as another avenue of disruption within the overall independence movement and consideration will be given in the near future to further disruptive efforts in this direction.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124) DATE: 8/11/66

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)
C.R.A.
G.L.G.

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: San Juan)

ReBuairtel to San Juan dated May 31, 1966, and San Juan airtel dated May 19, 1966.

Referenced San Juan airtel requested Bureau authority to prepare and mail a letter in the Spanish language to [redacted], Secretary General of the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña (Puerto Rican Socialist League) (LSP). Referenced Bureau airtel granted said authority and letter was mailed to [redacted] on June 7, 1966.

[redacted] San Juan, Puerto Rico, was requested to contact [redacted] source within the LSP for information re effect of above letter. On July 28, 1966 [redacted] advised that according to [redacted] source within the main LSP group, [redacted] had commented during a [redacted] LSP meeting that he had received an unsigned letter from a group of Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR) youth in which they blamed him for aggressions against MPIPR members. [redacted] further said that in the same letter he was urged [redacted] to the MPIPR leader and harmonize with him. [redacted] reportedly commented that whether the letter was written by an MPIPR youth group or by the police, the aggressions against MPIPR members would continue.

San Juan Office sources within the MPIPR have heard nothing of a letter to [redacted] from a group of MPIPR youth.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Juan

FEG:sck

AUG 25 1966



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REC-15

AUG 18 1966

SUBV. CONTROL

S. 105-3353 Sub 1

It is noted that [redacted] advised on June 15, 1966, that at a New York City, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) meeting [redacted] to discuss a possible rupture between the PLP and the MPIPR - New York Mission (NYM); [redacted] stated that he had severed the relationship between the LSP and the MPIPR in Puerto Rico, and he felt that the same should be done between the PLP and the MPIPR - NYM.

Since the date the counterintelligence letter was mailed there have been no further reported incidents of violence between LSP and MPIPR members, but neither has there been any move towards conciliation by either group, although the LSP has refrained recently from passing out its propaganda at MPIPR functions.

The San Juan Office will be alert for further opportunities to exacerbate the ill-feelings between the LSP and the MPIPR.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 7/12/66

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Ingram	
DeLoach	
Mohr	
Bishop	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

Blair
15.1.11

PURPOSE:

To recommend the preparation of a cartoon by the Exhibits Section of the Administrative Division, depicting leaders of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico as being controlled by Fidel Castro for anonymous distribution to independentists in Puerto Rico.

BACKGROUND:

The Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico is the dominant subversive proindependence organization in Puerto Rico. It is closely aligned to Cuba and some of its leaders are involved in a Cuban espionage network headed by [REDACTED] the interim Secretary General of the organization. It sent a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana, Cuba, during January, 1966. It was headed by [REDACTED]. This organization maintains a representative, [REDACTED] in Havana.

JUAN MARTINEZ

To emphasize the close ties of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico with Cuba and to ridicule it for its subservient roll toward Fidel Castro, the following counterintelligence tactic is proposed. A cartoon prepared by the Exhibits Section would be mailed anonymously in Puerto Rico to the less enthusiastic members of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico and to other independentists who are not affiliated with that organization. The cartoon would depict a troika drawn by three donkeys with heads of [REDACTED]. It would be driven by Fidel Castro brandishing a long whip. This would be superimposed on a rough map of Puerto Rico and would contain the

MARTINEZ

105-93124
TWK:jmk
1. (7)

EX-103

REC 15

CONTINUED - OVER

6 AUG 8 1966

ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

57 AUG 12 1966

5/TWK

Memorandum J. F. Bland to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
105-93124

caption "Si! La independencia para los Puertorriquenos."
(Yes! Freedom for the Puerto Ricans). Bufiles contain
appropriate photographs of the above-mentioned individuals.

The San Juan Office has advised that the use of
this cartoon as a counterintelligence tactic will not inter-
fere in any manner with its operations. It suggested that
250 copies of the cartoon be furnished to it for appropriate
distribution.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed that this cartoon, by implying that
the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico is dominated
by Fidel Castro and Communist Cuba, will have a positive
effect of undermining the influence of the Movimiento Pro
Independencia de Puerto Rico leaders among those Puerto Rican
independentists who do not favor communism and Fidel Castro.
In addition, it is believed that the comic aspects of the
cartoon will cause embarrassment to the above-mentioned three
leaders of the organization.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the use of the troika cartoon to be prepared
by the Exhibits Section be approved as a counterintelligence
tactic against the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico.
If approved, 250 copies of the cartoon on unwatermarked
commercial-grade paper should be prepared.

TWP ✓ *JFC*
gm ✓
P ✓
OK ✓
H

SAO, San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

Director, FBI (105-93124)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

August 4, 1966

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

**GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)**

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mail Room

Reurlet 6/23/66 and Bulet 6/17/66.

Enclosed herewith are 250 copies of a cartoon depicting a trika, superimposed on a rough map of Puerto Rico, being pulled by three donkeys with heads of three pro-Cuban leaders of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico and driven by Fidel Castro.

You should consider mailing this cartoon from one or more post offices near the University of Puerto Rico to foster the idea that the cartoon was prepared by an art student at the University.

In drawing up the mailing list for the cartoon you should consider including selected newspaper writers who have been critical of the independentists.

You must insure that the cartoon will be mailed in such a manner that it cannot be traced to the Bureau or any of its employees. Advise the Bureau of the results.

Enclosures - 250

REC 5

EX-103

TWK:lan lam
(10)

4 AUG 5 1966

NOTE:

By memorandum 7/12/66, approved by the Director, it was recommended that the Exhibits Section of the Administrative Division prepare attached cartoon for anonymous mailing to the less enthusiastic members of the MPIPR and to other independentists who are not affiliated with that organization. The cartoon was prepared to graphically emphasize the influence of Castro on the independentists. It is believed that this cartoon by implying that the MPIPR is dominated by Castro and Communist Cuba will have a positive effect of undermining the influence of that organization among those Puerto Rican independentists who do not favor communism and Fidel Castro.

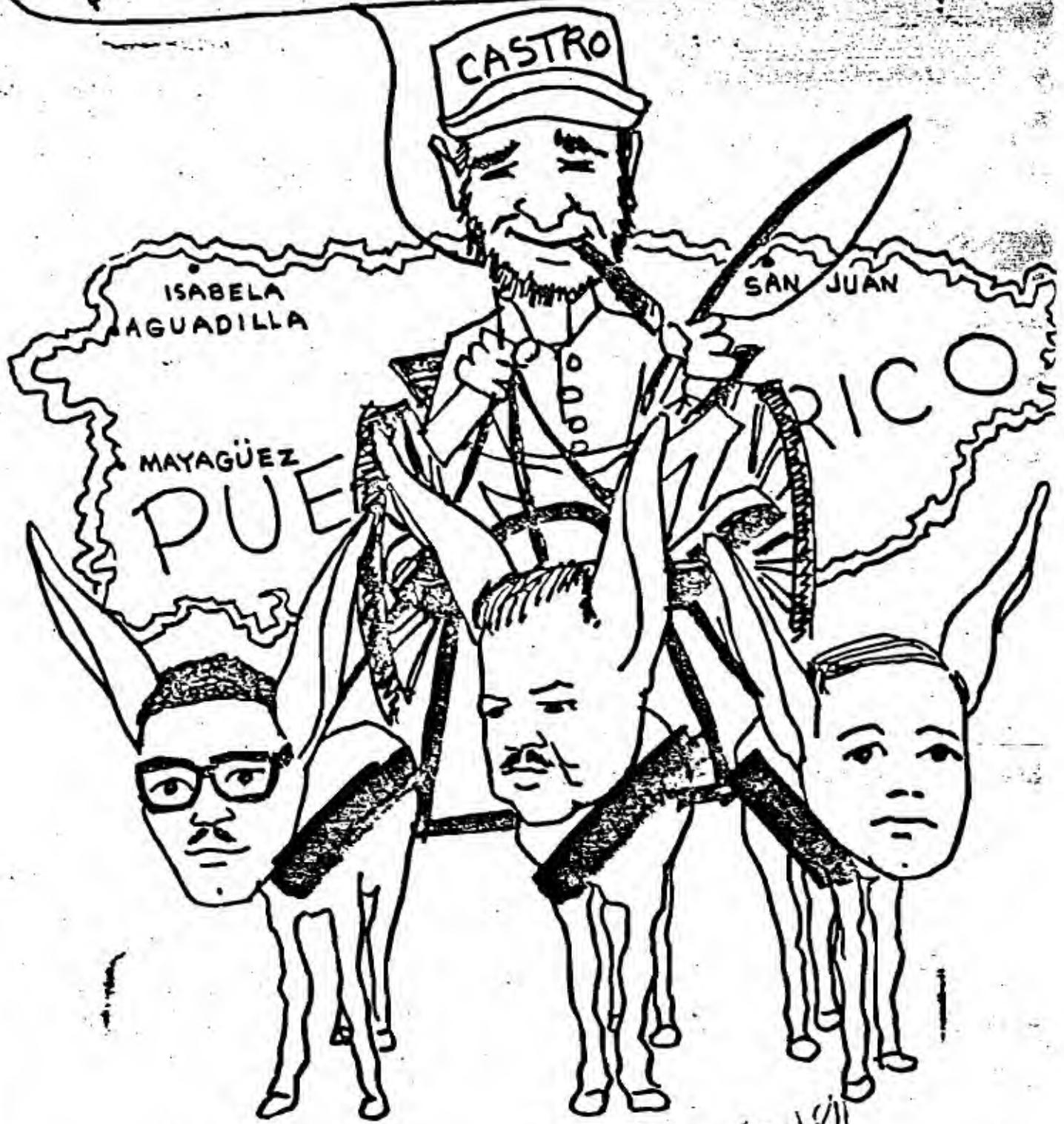
MAILED 3
AUG 4 - 1966
COMM-FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

ENCLOSURE
56 AUG 11 1966
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

W.C. Sullivan

SÍ! LA INDEPENDENCIA PARA
LOS PUERTORRIQUEÑOS



ENCARNACION

FBI

Date: 7/19/66

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1)

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
IS - PRP

ReNYlet to the Bureau, 6/8/66, and SJlet to the Bureau, 6/15/66.

On 7/18/66, [redacted] advised during an interview that members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) had recently received an anonymous letter which [redacted] destination, a "character assassination" of [redacted]. [redacted] further advised that everyone of the NPPR that had received this letter was outraged by the letter and are firmly convinced that it emanated from Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR) headquarters in Puerto Rico due to the fact that it contained the MPIPR expression "Despierta Boricua Defiende Lo Tuyo."

Source advised that this letter has plainly upset the members of the NPPR and they are conducting investigations in an effort to determine the source of the letter and also are presently trying to determine what action they will take against the MPIPR.

During the interview it became apparent from source's information that [redacted]

EX-117

REC-1

105-93124-18

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (105-32872) (RM)
- 1 - San Juan (1-134-5)
- 1 - (1-100-3) (NPPR) (1 - [redacted])

14 JUL 22 1966

SUBV CONTROL

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

61 AUG 9 1966
LDR JSW (9)

cc retained 1042

SJ105-3353

[REDACTED] will be contacted concerning any information he might have regarding this letter and the Bureau and New York. [REDACTED] will be kept advised.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 SUB 1)(P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

DATE: 6/23/66

ReBullets, 3/31 and 6/17/66.

It is not anticipated that the use of the troika cartoon described in referenced letters will interfere in any way with the operations of the SJO. A suitable mailing list of individuals to whom it could be mailed is available, and it is suggested the Bureau furnish the SJO 250 copies of the cartoon.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Juan

ACG:mar
(3)

EXP. PROC.

REC-59

182

EX-104

JUN 25 1966
SUBV. CONTROL

111
510

FBI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
DATE: June 29, 1966

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

Handwritten initials and signatures:
S...
K...
[Signature]

PURPOSE:

To consider authorizing the New York Office to mail a prepared anonymous letter* in the Spanish language to a selected number of the more active and prominent members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) and the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR). The purpose of instant mailing is to widen the schism existing between the NPPR and the MPIPR by questioning the ability and loyalty of [REDACTED] recently appointed Vice President of the NPPR.

DETAILS:

New York by letter dated June 8, 1966, recommended that an anonymous letter be mailed for the above-stated purpose and requested San Juan to furnish the names of likely recipients of this type mailing.

San Juan by letter of June 15, 1966, furnished the names of twenty-six individuals from both the NPPR and the MPIPR as likely targets. This letter is receiving a restricted mailing in the belief that its distribution to known and active members of these organizations will lend authenticity to this tactic.

[REDACTED] is a likely principal for this counterintelligence technique because of his recent appointment to high office in the NPPR and because of the number of individuals in the Independentist Movement who disapprove of his tactics and manners. He has alienated individuals in organizations with a similar purpose as the NPPR and even in his own organization many independentists refer to either the [REDACTED] or [REDACTED] faction while speaking of the NPPR, New York Junta.

*Enclosure (English translation attached)

REC 30

105-93124

CONTINUED - OVER

17 JUL 6 1966

53 TJM:scr (2)
53 JUL 11 1966
ENCLOSURE

EX 110

Handwritten number: 57

DESPIERTA BORICUA !!!!!

DEFIENDE LO TUYO !!!!!

Our goal is to regain what is ours --- to rid our homeland of imperialist rule --- not to be diverted by internal disputes. But the election of [redacted] as Vice President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico has set back the independence movement twenty years.

We who have tried to work with Dictator [redacted] are familiar with his despotic ways. He presents the face of an unselfish leader, but he is interested only in personal prestige. It is his hope to take over the leadership of the Partido Nacionalista and wear the mantle of our great apostle, Don Pedro. What irreverence! What hypocrisy!

No one but a Napoleon would have such disrespect for the principles of El Maestro.

Ask his New York cameranos why they could not get along with him. Ask them about his inflexible rule and treacherous methods. Ask them about his disrespect for the [redacted] name and his unwillingness to cooperate with those who have endured years of personal sacrifice.

If his motives are so pure, why did he not return to our homeland while Don Pedro was alive? Certainly the party could have used his "leadership" during Don Pedro's long sufferings. It would have been a comfort to our beloved apostle to know that his work was continuing.

Is it possible that our great [redacted] knew that his dark motives could not escape the piercing light of Don Pedro's keen eyes

[redacted] gladly accepted the Number 2 position because he felt he might be able to control and influence Don [redacted]

It would have been less dangerous to appoint a fox to guard the hen house!

Don Pedro is no longer with us, but his soul and heart live on --- his words still guide us --- his dreams are our goal.

Who will step forward to halt this chicanery?! Who will cry, "No! The memory of Don Pedro will not be mocked!!!"

Our enemies must be laughing!!!

BE ON YOUR GUARD !!!

DEFEND YOUR IDEALS !!!

10 - 1511 - 181

Memorandum [redacted] to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
105-93124

OBSERVATIONS:

New York's suggested letter appears to be an excellent tactic in widening the breach between the NPPR and the MPIPR. This letter is so worded that the finger of suspicion as to its author could logically point to any number of individuals active in the Independentist Movement. It is anticipated that by having a number of suspects, an atmosphere of "finger-pointing" will be created, followed by a predictable disruptive environment which would tend to counteract any unification efforts now in progress between these groups.

ACTION:

sent
The attached letter is being sent to New York approving the mailing of the suggested anonymous letter. New York is being advised to exercise the proper caution in its mailing and to advise the Bureau of any results received therefrom.

WCS 1/5 *D*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

6/27/66

Director, FBI (105-93124) - 180

- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SI-123

GROUP SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

Reurlets dated May 19, 1966, June 15, 1966, and
Bulet June 17, 1966.

Bureau authority is granted to prepare and mail
the letter in the Spanish language to Juan Mari Bras, as
recommended in referenced letter of June 15, 1966. You
must insure that the letter will be prepared and mailed in
such a manner that it cannot be traced back to the Bureau
or any of its employees. Advise the Bureau of the results.

Regarding the use of the cartoon described in your
letter of May 19, 1966, to be used in conjunction with the
above-mentioned letter to Mari Bras, the Bureau is taking no
action upon this recommendation until your reply is received
to referenced Bureau letter concerning the same subject matter.

TJM:sjs
(9)

NOTE:

See memorandum [REDACTED] to W.C. Sullivan, dated
6/24/66, captioned as above, and prepared by TJM:sjs.

Referenced Bulet of 6/17/66 requested San Juan to
advise if they had any objections to the use of a similar
cartoon first suggested by the Bureau as a counterintelligence
tactic to widen the breach between Mari Bras and [REDACTED]
both high ranking officials of the MPIPR.

MAILED 4
JUN 27 1966
COMM-FBI

JUN 27 1966

Handwritten notes and signatures:
m.../...
[Signature]

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 6/15/66

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: SAN JUAN)

Re San Juan let to Bureau, 5/19/66.
Bulet, 6/1/66.

The letter authorized in re Bulet was mailed to
JUAN MARI BRAS under secure conditions on 6/7/66.

In line with the Bureau's suggestion that above
letter should be followed by a second letter which indicates
that [REDACTED] is actually disloyal and wants
to take over the PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (MPIPR)
leadership position, it is believed that the simplest and
most creditable approach is a brief letter to MARI BRAS
which asks specific questions in such a manner as to imply
[REDACTED] ambitiousness and also suggests disloyalty by
implying a connection with the PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE
(LSP) through [REDACTED]. It is noted that ill
feeling between the MPIPR and the LSP was recently manifested
through the assault of one of MARI BRAS' chief lieutenants,
[REDACTED] by [REDACTED].

The following is the proposed text of the letter:

"Esteemed Leader and Friend:

"Ask yourself the following questions:

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Juan
ACG:BJK
(3)

REC-17

SI-123

JUN 20 1966

SUBV. CONTROL



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

COPIES PROC.

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

"Why does [redacted] talk so much of the need for young militant leaders?"

"Why does he want to make all the decisions?"

"Why does he talk so much of your ill health and a need for you to rest?"

"Why does he meet with [redacted]"

/s/ "One Who Wonders."

The SJO notes that re San Juan let of 5/19/66 requested Bureau approval of a cartoon described therein to be used in conjunction with the letter mailed on 6/7/66. It is believed that the cartoon would be an excellent tactic to cement the idea of [redacted] disloyalty and ambitiousness in the mind of [redacted] and would further undermine [redacted] position by suggesting his attitude to the MPIPR rank and file.

Accordingly, if Bureau approved utilization of the cartoon tactic, preparation of the cartoon by the Exhibit Section should be expedited so that maximum effect can be achieved through appropriate timing, i.e., following shortly after the letter suggested herein.

Bureau authority is hereby solicited to prepare and mail the letter, the English text of which is set out above.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: *[Handwritten initials]*
FROM: *[Handwritten initials]*
SUBJECT: *[Handwritten initials]*

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 6/22/66

SAC, NEW YORK (105-32872)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: SJ)

ReNYlet to Bu, 6/8/66, and SJlet to Bu, 6/15/66.

The suggestion made by SJO in its referenced letter is well taken. NYO agrees that selective mailing of the counterintelligence letter would lend support to its "authenticity", strengthen its impact, and better assure the desired effect, i.e. the continued disruption of the Puerto Rican pro-independence movement, and the prevention of unity among the groups involved.

Bureau authority is requested to mail the Spanish version of this letter, as outlined in reNYlet, to the individuals and addresses recommended by the SJO. In the hope of convincing the recipients that the letter came from someone in NYC, only Puerto Rico subjects are being sent copies, at this time. If it is found feasible and prudent to expand the tactic into the NYC area, consideration will be so given.

If Bureau authority is granted, SJO is requested to report and assess the effects of this strategy as learned through confidential sources. Likewise, NYO will be alert to any reverberations felt in NYC area.

REC 36

179

- 2-Bureau (RM)
- 1-San Juan (105-3353-Sub-1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-New York

ADL:iah

(4)

LA 501

JUN 23 1966



JUL 5 1966

COPY CONTROL

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

6/17/66

Director, FBI (105-93124)

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

**GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)**

ReBulets 6/1/66 and 5/4/66 and Form 0-1 dated 6/3/66 returned with notation to see your letter 5/19/66.

It did not appear to the Bureau that your letter of 5/19/66 was intended to be completely responsive to Bureau letter dated 5/4/66. This Bureau letter pointed out that the suggested cartoon of the troika pulled by donkeys with heads of [redacted] and [redacted]

and being driven by Fidel Castro was to graphically emphasize the control of Castro over the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR). It was pointed out that the cartoon might have some effect among the less enthusiastic members of the MPIPR and among other Independentists who are not affiliated with the MPIPR. It was also intended to poke fun at [redacted] and place him in a defensive position. Your comments and suggestions as to the possible benefits of the cartoon were requested.

*MAKE
BLAS*

Your letter of 5/19/66 which dealt with our attempt to widen the breach between [redacted] and [redacted] suggested a cartoon showing a two-wheeled cart labeled MPI pulled by two donkeys with the heads of these individuals. The donkey with the head of [redacted] would be pulling toward a rough map of Cuba and the donkey with the head of [redacted] would be pulling toward a map of Puerto Rico.

The two items are conflicting since one cartoon depicts [redacted] as being pro-Cuba and the other in a somewhat more favorable light of being at least anti-Cuban. Since the Bureau expected a more direct reply to its letter of 5/4/66, no action was taken on that part of your letter dealing with the suggestion of the cart being pulled by [redacted] and [redacted] pending receipt of the answer.

TWK:sal
(5)

ENCLOSURE

EX-103 REC-140
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

16 JUN 17 1966

MAILED 3
JUN 16 1966
COMM-FBI

56 JUN 24 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

Letter to SAC, San Juan
RE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
105-93124

Since the Bureau first suggested the use of the cartoon depicting the troika by letter dated 3/31/66, the Bureau desires that it be resolved promptly. You are, therefore, requested to advise if the use of the troika cartoon would interfere in any way with any of the operations of your office and if you have available a suitable list of individuals to whom it could be mailed. If so, advise Bureau of the desired number.

MARI BRAS

NOTE: Bureau previously suggested to San Juan a tactic to be used to widen the breach between [redacted] and [redacted] both high-ranking officials of MIPR. Bureau also suggested above-mentioned cartoon of troika being pulled by three donkeys with heads of three high-ranking officials who are closely aligned to Cuba. San Juan apparently desired to combine the two counterintelligence tactics and have furnished no reason as to why the cartoon of the troika should not be utilized.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : C. D. A. SAC SAN JUAN (Your file 105-3753 S/L) DATE: 6/3/66

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 105-93124)
Room No. 6470

Post in file and destroy 0-1 (For SOG use only)

T: Groups Seeking Independence for P.R
Counter Intelligence Program
(Subversive Control Section)

- 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.
(ResJ let 5/19/66. Relet on page 2)
- Suggests cartoon requested in Relet 5/4*
- Bulet 5/4/66 (Bulet 5/4/66 made no mention of above suggestion)*
- 2. DATE airtel letterhead memo submitted *→ 5/19/66*
- report
- letter 90-day progress letter will be submitted

Reporting employee _____

3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted _____

4. Status of Appeal Inquiry Investigation Prosecution

airtel letterhead memo

5. Submit report letter 90-day progress letter by _____ *3/7/66*

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1964 O - 714-541
ENCLOSURE

TWK-408

SAC, New York (105-32872)

June 30, 1966

REC-138
Director, FBI (105-93124) - 177

EX 109

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

ReNYlet June 8, 1966, and San Juan letter June 15, 1966.

Bureau authority is granted to prepare and mail the recommended letter in the Spanish language to the individuals set forth in referenced San Juan letter.

You must insure that the letter will be prepared and mailed in such a manner that it cannot be traced back to the Bureau or any of its employees. Advise the Bureau of the results.

1 - San Juan (105-3353 Sub. 1)

TJM:scr/tj (10) *Tj*

NOTE: See memorandum [REDACTED] to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated June 29, 1966, prepared by TJM:scr.

- ___ Tolson
- ___ DeLoach
- ___ Mohr
- ___ Wick
- ___ Casper
- ___ Callahan
- ___ Conrad
- ___ Felt
- ___ Gale
- ___ Rosen
- ___ Sullivan
- ___ Tavel
- ___ Trotter
- ___ Tele. Room
- ___ Holmes
- ___ Gandy

MAILED 6
JUN 30 1966
COMM-FBI

53 JUL 14 1966

57 JUL 5 1966 TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten signature]

W.P.

TJM

[Handwritten initials]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 6/15/66

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: SAN JUAN)

Re New York let to Bureau, 6/8/66.

Enclosed herewith for New York is a colloquial translation of the counterintelligence tactic contained in re New York letter.

SJO concurs with New York's belief that tactic described in relet might deepen the schism between the feuding factions of the NATIONALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO (NPPR) and the PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (MPIPR) and offers the following suggestions:

In the interest of giving the tactic credence, it is believed that its mailing should be restricted to only the more active NPPR members and those more prominent MPIPR leaders whose reputations are known throughout Puerto Rico. This restriction, by avoiding the "shotgun effect" of past tactics of this nature obtained by mass mailing to the bulk of the MPIPR membership, will, by its selectivity, give the impression of authenticity.

The following is a list of names and addresses of individuals whom the SJO feels should be recipients of this tactic:

PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (MPIPR)

JUAN MARI BRIS

[Redacted] Puerto Rico

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (Info) (105-32872) (Enc. 1) (RM)
 - 1 - San Juan
- ACG:gjk
(4)

10 111
JUN 20 1966

SUBV. CONTROL

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



NY 105-32872

An attempt is, thereby, being made to capitalize on growing dissension between these two organizations, emphasized most recently by the recognition of the MPI by the Cuban Government as the only group truly working for the independence of Puerto Rico. Elements within the NPPR have been angered by the direct slight by the Cuban Government for not inviting an NPPR representative to attend the Tri-Continental Congress held in Havana during January, 1966. The establishment of a permanent MPI delegation in Cuba has heightened this insult. Any fuel added to this heated situation will unquestionably prolong the distrust and anger between the two groups and deter any of the oft-spoken-of attempts at unity.

The passing reference to the [redacted] name may suggest to some recipients that either [redacted] or [redacted] (currently Treasurer and Secretary of the NPPR - New York branch respectively) was the author of the letter. Both [redacted] have not kept their dislike for [redacted] a secret, and [redacted] made a special effort to attend the 2/27/66 NPPR General Assembly in Puerto Rico in order to muster support to prevent [redacted] from assuming leadership of the Party. Upon her return to New York City, she disappointedly commented that [redacted] would eventually show himself for what he really is.

A further likely person to be suspected of having authored the letter is [redacted] who, himself, is distrustful of others and, likewise, insists on the complete obedience of others to his will. Because of their similar despotic natures, [redacted] and [redacted] were rarely in agreement and usually at odds. [redacted] is noted for his almost neurotic satisfaction in finding fault with others in print. He is a prolific writer, often devoting eight pages a month, in the MLPR "Information Bulletin", to personal ramblings and scathing castigations of fellow independentists. The terminology and phrases used in the anonymous letter are not unlike [redacted] usual bitter criticism.

By not trying to pinpoint any one person or group as the author of this letter, it is hoped that the numerous suspects will create an atmosphere of "finger-pointing" and brew a diversity of opinion, which should further the discussion and increase confusion.

NY 105-32872

The NYO suggests that the San Juan Office have the enclosed letter reviewed and translated by someone having native ability in the Spanish language, so that the finished product will not be a word for word translation, but one which will convey the meaning and essence of what has been written, in a manner most likely to be used by a Puerto Rican. Use of colloquial expressions to replace literal translations should be considered. In the preparation of the letter, an attempt has been made to make the wording sound as though it is itself a translation from the Spanish. It was hoped that in this way the letter would be easily "retranslated" into Spanish. It is felt that those suspected as possible authors would all be sufficiently literate to have written this letter.

SJO is requested to provide NYO with a list of names and addresses of persons felt to be logical recipients of this letter. All NPPR members, MPIPR leaders and prominent sympathizers in Puerto Rico should be considered. It is desired that the letter be directed to independentists in Puerto Rico so that suspicion will fall upon individuals in New York.

The mailing will be made from New York City at Post Offices near MPI-New York Mission headquarters and those Post Offices covering the residences of [redacted] and [redacted]. It is hoped that by varied postmarks, that those familiar with the suspects involved will be influenced by this small detail.

The letter would be mimeographed in an amateur fashion on inexpensive plain paper and mailed in plain white envelopes readily available to the public. Strikeovers and placing the copy in an unbalanced position might suggest the work of [redacted], a New York City printer, who is a supporter of the [redacted] faction and an outspoken enemy of [redacted]. [redacted] is noted for his unprofessional printing work.

After receipt of the final text in the Spanish language from the SJO, approval and authority of the Bureau will be requested to mail the letter to individuals suggested by the SJO.

The suggestions and opinions of the Bureau and the SJO are invited and will be greatly appreciated.

DESPIERTA BORICUA !!!!

DEFIENDE LO TUYO !!!!

Our goal is to regain what is ours --- to rid our homeland of imperialist rule --- not to be diverted by internal disputes. But the election of [redacted] as Vice President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico has set back the independence movement twenty years.

We who have tried to work with Dictator [redacted] are familiar with his despotic ways. He presents the face of an unselfish leader, but he is interested only in personal prestige. It is his hope to take over the leadership of the Partido Nacionalista and wear the mantle of our great apostle, Don [redacted]. What irreverence! What hypocrisy!

No one but a Napoleon would have such disrespect for the principles of El Maestro.

Ask his New York campaneros why they could not get along with him. Ask them about his inflexible rule and treacherous methods. Ask them about his disrespect for the [redacted] name and his unwillingness to cooperate with those who have endured years of personal sacrifice.

If his motives are so pure, why did he not return to our homeland while Don [redacted] was alive? Certainly the party could have used his "leadership" during Don [redacted]'s long sufferings. It would have been a comfort to our beloved apostle to know that his work was continuing.

Is it possible that our great [redacted] knew that his dark motives could not escape the piercing light of Don [redacted]'s keen eyes.

[redacted] gladly accepted the Number 2 position because he felt he might be able to control and influence [redacted].

It would have been less dangerous to appoint a fox to guard the hen house!

Don [redacted] is no longer with us, but his soul and heart live on --- his words still guide us --- his dreams are our goal.

Who will step forward to halt this chicanery?! Who will cry, "No! The memory of Don [redacted] will not be mocked!!!"

Our enemies must be laughing!!!

BE ON YOUR GUARD !!!

DEFEND YOUR IDEALS !!!

[redacted]
ENCLOSURE 105 3129-176

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- DATE: May 31, 1966
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Wick	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

PURPOSE:

To consider authorizing the San Juan Office to prepare an anonymous letter in the Spanish language to Juan Mari Bras, the interim Secretary General of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico, implying that a subordinate officer [REDACTED] is getting overly ambitious and may desire to take the leadership of the organization from Mari Bras.

BR
K. [REDACTED]

DETAILS:

San Juan by letter dated 5/19/66 recommends an anonymous letter be sent to Mari Bras to be mailed from an outlying area which makes no direct accusation against [REDACTED] but merely points out that [REDACTED] is perhaps too ambitious and that people are talking about it.

The Bureau previously pointed out to San Juan that it had noted that Mari Bras appeared to be somewhat jealous of the attention [REDACTED] was getting from the Cubans and that counter-intelligence tactics should be considered to cause dissension between them. The Bureau suggested the mailing of an anonymous letter to Mari Bras ostensibly from a friend of [REDACTED] indicating that the writer is hurt by the snide remarks that [REDACTED] is making about Mari Bras and that he has reluctantly come to the conclusion that [REDACTED] is knifing Mari Bras in the back.

OBSERVATIONS:

REC-4

105-93124-175

San Juan's suggested letter appears to have been sent as an opening shot in our attempt to widen the breach between Mari Bras and [REDACTED] however, it appears that it should be followed up in two or three weeks with another anonymous letter indicating that [REDACTED] is a direct threat to the leadership of Mari Bras.

Enclosure
105-93124
TWK:bff/scr (6)

CONTINUED - OVER

3
[Signature]

157
69 JUN 7 1966

Memorandum J. F. Bland to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
105-93124

ACTION:

per 1/27
The attached letter is being sent to San Juan approving the mailing of the suggested anonymous letter implying that [REDACTED] is getting overly ambitious. San Juan is being requested to submit a follow-up letter for Bureau approval containing accusation that [REDACTED] is out to take over the leadership of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico from Mari Bras.

W.C.S. *1/27* *W.C.S.* *1/27*

5/31/66

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

Airtel

To: SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub. 1)
From: Director, FBI (105-93124)-174

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

Reurairtel 5/19/66.

Bureau authority is granted to prepare and mail the letter in the Spanish language as recommended in referenced airtel.

You must insure that the letter will be prepared and mailed in such a manner that it cannot be traced back to the Bureau or any of its employees. Advise the Bureau of results.

TWK:jd/scr (5)

NOTE: The proposed letter to [redacted] Key Figure in the San Juan Office and leader of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, (LSP) is designed to create additional friction between the LSP and the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR). A leader of the LSP struck a leader of the MPIPR on 4/20/66 following a dispute concerning the distribution of propaganda by the LSP at a MPIPR function. Proposed letter will be from "Militant Youth of MPI" and warns [redacted] of reprisals if attacks by LSP continue. Letter is designed to irritate [redacted] who is known to be sensitive to criticism. It is recognized that this could result in an altercation between members of these two groups, but it is doubtful if it would result in more. A definite break between these two militant independence groups would work to our advantage. One of our aims is to create friction between the proindependence groups and to keep them occupied by squabbling among themselves.

MAILED 5
JUN 1 1966
COMM-FBI

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Wick
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

56 JUN 9 1966
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

WCD
WCD
WCD
WCD

MAY 31 5 28 PM '66

S. 105-3353 Sub. 1

another altercation between [redacted] and [redacted] over the latter's distribution and sale of LSP propaganda during the MPIPR commemoration.

The 4/23/66 edition of "El Mundo," Spanish language daily newspaper published in San Juan, Puerto Rico, contained an article reporting a dispute between [redacted] and [redacted] LSP Central Committee member and SJO key figure, on 4/20/66, during which [redacted] struck [redacted]. Both were arrested and [redacted] was charged with aggravated assault and battery and disturbing the peace. He was released in the custody of GILBERTO CONCEPCION DE GRACIA, President of the PARTIDO INDEPENDENTISTA PUERTORRIQUENO (Independence Party of Puerto Rico) (PIP), reportedly acting as attorney and peacemaker.

The 4/28/66 issue of "Carta Semanal," MPIPR weekly newsletter, contained on Page 1 an MPIPR Political Commission statement condemning the [redacted] attack on [redacted] and a similar assault in Ponce, Puerto Rico, a few days later by another LSP member against an MPIPR member. The statement also requested local directors of MPIPR missions to take necessary self-defensive measures relating to violence displayed against MPIPR members and prohibited the distribution during MPIPR functions of any propaganda not authorized by the MPIPR directors in order to halt dissemination of material insulting to the MPIPR at its own functions.

On 4/30/66, [redacted] advised that [redacted]

[redacted] and another person at an MPIPR activity at Aguadilla, Puerto Rico on 4/16/66, had been passing out a Progressive Labor Party newspaper article which insulted and attacked the MPIPR and praised the LSP, proclaiming LSP [redacted] as the grand chief of the Puerto Rican revolution. [redacted] said that [redacted] told [redacted] and the other [redacted]

SJ 105-3353 sub 1

person that they could not pass out this literature.

_____ said that the same literature had been passed out several times before in Ponce and Isabela, Puerto Rico.

_____ indicated that the above incident was the basis for _____ assault of _____ several days later.

ACTION

To promote the current ill-feeling between the MPIPR and the LSP and perhaps provoke further physical violence between members of these groups, a proposed letter has been prepared in the SJO directed to _____ LSP _____ ostensibly from a group of MPIPR youth. The tone of and language in the letter, while _____ surfacely part conciliatory, are calculated to infuriate _____ who is known to be extremely sensitive to criticism and prone to violence.

The text of the proposed letter follows:

"This is to advise you that we have formed ourselves into a self-protective group to prevent any further unprovoked assaults against MPI members by criminal elements in your organization. Any further such attacks will result in the severest discipline against those responsible. Further distribution of Liga Socialista propaganda at MPI events also will not be tolerated and will result in immediate disciplinary measures.

"We urge you to publicly repudiate the actions of these gangsters and to inform our leadership that the distribution of LSP propaganda and insulting literature will cease immediately and permanently. Such actions only encourage

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

our enemies. If, however, old age has so robbed you of your senses that you give your approval to the cowardly actions of the mongrels in your group and refuse to halt distribution of degrading and vicious propaganda, then be warned that we youth do not have the patience and equanimity of our leaders. We will tolerate no further insults but will answer blow for blow. Be warned!

/s/ "Militant Youth of the MPI"

Request of Bureau

Bureau approval for mailing of the above letter in a Spanish language translation is requested.

SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

Director, FBI (105-93124) - 173

LEG 122EX-108

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED] June 1, 1966
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

**GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)**

Reurlet 5/19/66.

Bureau authority is granted to prepare and mail the letter in the Spanish language to [REDACTED] as recommended in referenced letter. You must insure that the letter will be prepared and mailed in such a manner that it cannot be traced back to the Bureau or any of its employees. Advise the Bureau of results.

JUAN MARI BRAS

The Bureau believes that the above letter is a good opening shot in our efforts to cause dissension between [REDACTED]. It appears desirable, however, that the letter be followed in two or three weeks by another letter along the lines suggested in Bureau letter 4/27/66 indicating that [REDACTED] is actually disloyal to [REDACTED] and desires to take [REDACTED] the leadership of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico. Submit appropriate letter for Bureau approval.

TWK:bff/scr
(8)

NOTE: See memorandum [REDACTED] to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated May 31, 1966, captioned as above prepared TWK:bff/scr.

MAILED 3
JUN 11 1966
COMM-FBI

56 JUN 8 1966

73

- _____ Tolson
- _____ DeLoach
- _____ Mohr
- _____ Wick
- _____ Casper
- _____ Callahan
- _____ Conrad
- _____ Felt
- _____ Gale
- _____ Rosen
- _____ Sullivan
- _____ Tavel
- _____ Trotter
- _____ Tele. Room
- _____ Holmes
- _____ Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

now 7/2

JWB

with

10-9

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 5/19/66

FROM : *CDK* SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: SAN JUAN)

JUAN MACI BENS

Re San Juan let to Bureau, 4/14/66.
Bulets, 4/27 and 5/4/66.

In connection with the Bureau's suggestion in Bulet of 4/27/66 that an anonymous letter be prepared in an effort to widen the developing schism between [redacted] and [redacted] to be followed by additional tactics, the following is being set forth.

MAR. BRASILE

1. It is believed that an anonymous letter in this connection must necessarily be very brief and should make no direct accusation against [redacted] but rather an oblique one in order to appear sincere. Additionally, the writer should represent himself as a PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (MPIPR) militant who, while recognizing [redacted] leadership abilities, mistrusts his ambitiousness and prefers the proven leadership of [redacted]. The letter should be in regular handwriting and crudely written in the Spanish language. The following is the suggested text of the letter:

"Speaking as a friend and admirer of you I would like to say that [redacted] is obviously a true independentist and a rising leader, but he is perhaps too ambitious and people are talking. We prefer your time-proven leadership and militancy as maximum leader, to the unproven abilities of [redacted]. Be careful.

/s/ "A True Militant"

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Juan
ACG:GJK
(3)

REC-3

MAY 23 1966

EVERY COPY...



SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

This letter should then be followed, after a short intervening period, by a simple cartoon as suggested in re Bulet of 5/4/66, as follows, in line with the original idea of the troika drawn by donkeys, but considerably simplified.

The cartoon should be a rough sketch of a two-wheel cart labeled, "MPI", with a donkey bearing the head of [redacted] hitched to one end pulling toward a rough map of Puerto Rico, the map labeled, "Puerto Rico Libre" (Free Puerto Rico). Hitched to the other end should be a second donkey bearing the head of [redacted] pulling toward a sketch of Cuba (labeled "Cuba"), on which stands FIDEL CASTRO, cigar in his mouth, and leaning over with hand outstretched in welcome to PIETRI.

Such a sketch, while simple to prepare, would get across the idea that [redacted] and [redacted] are pulling the MPIPR in two different directions, thus emphasizing the rift between them, and at the same time would imply that [redacted] was working primarily toward a free Puerto Rico, while [redacted] pulling toward Cuba, would point up the connections between the MPIPR and Cuba and infer that [redacted] was pulling the MPIPR further under Cuban domination.

JUAN
MARI
[redacted]

This cartoon could easily be followed by others depicting [redacted] stabbing [redacted] in the back and so forth, to deepen the rift.

Bureau authority is solicited to put the above-described tactics into effect.

If Bureau approval is granted, the anonymous letter will be prepared by the SJO and mailed from an outlying area to avoid the possibility of it being connected in any way with the FBI.

In order to avoid the possibility of the MPIPR leadership making a connection between the above-described cartoon and previous mailings of anonymous leaflets by the SJO, the cartoon will not be mailed in such quantity.

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

Accordingly, if the use of the cartoon is authorized, Bureau should request the Exhibit Section to prepare 250 copies of the described amateurish cartoon and should mail these copies to San Juan, where they will be mailed under secure conditions to selected individuals on the MPIPR mailing list and other known independentists.

FBI

Date: 5/12/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)
FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)
SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: SAN JUAN)

Re San Juan airtel to Bureau, 4/19/66.
Buairtel, 4/27/66.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York
are nine copies and one copy respectively of a letterhead-(LHM)
memorandum captioned, "JUAN MARI BRAS; IS-PRN, IS-CUBA, RA-
CUBA."

Public source information concerning statements
made by JUAN MARI BRAS covering points mentioned in re San
Juan airtel was furnished to _____
_____ Juan,
Puerto Rico _____

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 9) REC 20
 - 1 - New York (RM) (Info) (105-32872) (Enc. 1)
 - 2 - San Juan
 - (1 - 100-4785 Juan Mari Bras)
- ACG:gjk
(6)

ENCLOSURE

Copy to AIX, Yagley, Stab, CIA,
by routing slip for

16 MAY 16 1966

50 MAY 2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

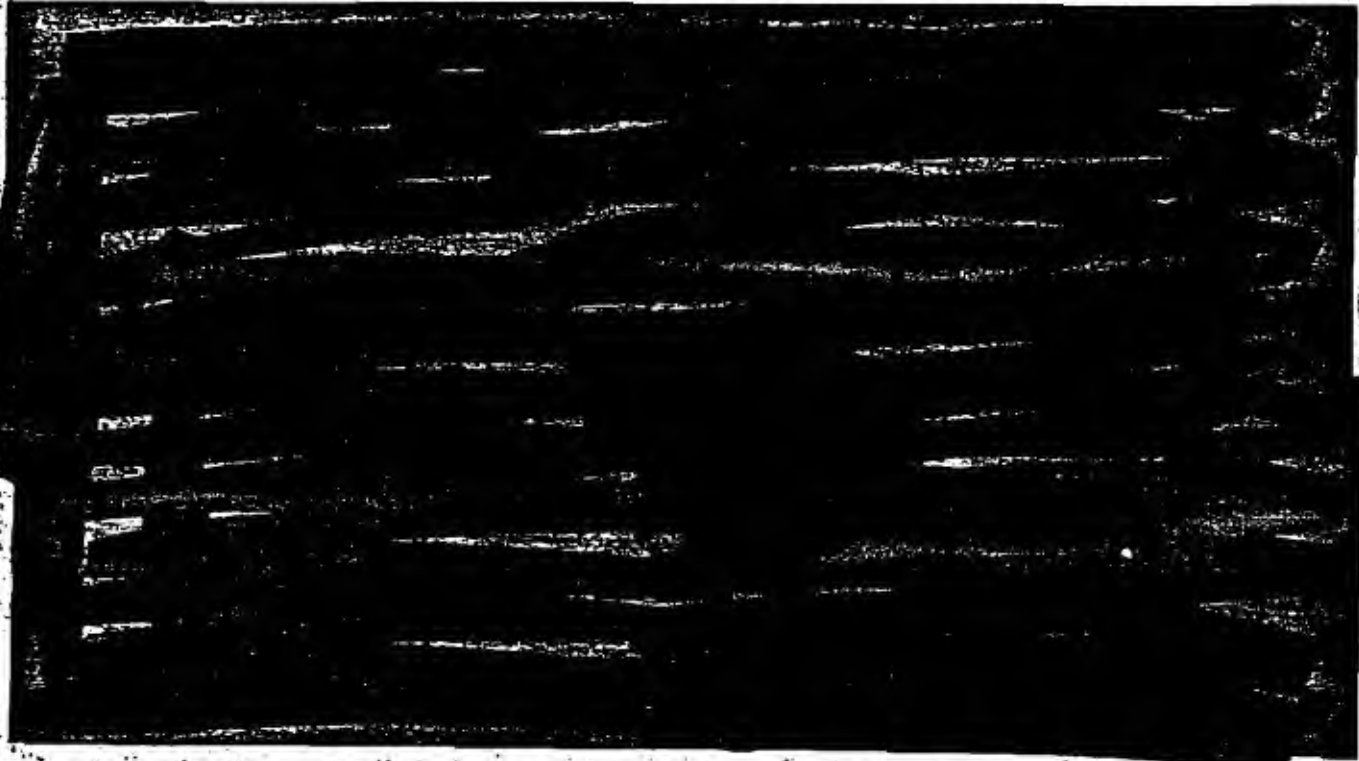
Sent _____

FBI CONTROL

*cc airtel +
LHM returned
804 D*

*5/17/66
CDP*

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1



The SJO will be alert for further opportunities in this direction.

The enclosed LHM is being disseminated locally to ONI, INTC and OSI.

Re: Juan Mari Bras

APPENDIX

1

MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO
(Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR)

The MPIPR was organized November 23, 1959, at Ponce, Puerto Rico, according to its first Secretary General, JUAN MARI BRAS, for the independence of Puerto Rico. It was stated that the organization did not advocate violence but would accept anyone who believed in Puerto Rican independence, regardless of his beliefs as to the use of violence, provided he agreed with the MPIPR Declaration of Principles.

Since its inception, the MPIPR has had as its leader and guiding force JUAN MARI BRAS who, speaking on behalf of himself and the organization, said the MPIPR does not advocate violence as a means of obtaining independence for Puerto Rico only because he felt violence would be ineffective against the power of the United States Government. He stated that he believed in the right of the Puerto Rican people to use violence to obtain their freedom if and when the circumstances were such that they could possibly be successful in their efforts.

A confidential source advised on February 20, 1964, that MPIPR Secretary of Youth BENJAMIN ORTIZ BELAVAL stated that although the use of arms and violence is not presently advantageous to the Puerto Rican independence movement, the right would be reserved to use arms and violence in the future.

The MPIPR has missions throughout the island of Puerto Rico and in New York, New York; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York. It has an estimated membership between 1,000 and 1,300 persons, according to the Police of Puerto Rico.

Since its inception, the MPIPR and its leaders have frequently expressed sympathy for the communist revolution in Cuba and with the CASTRO Government in Cuba.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Wick	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 4/26/66

FROM : [REDACTED]

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - PUERTO RICAN
NATIONALIST

PURPOSE:

To consider authorizing the San Juan Office to furnish public source information to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] San Juan, Puerto Rico, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] this organization is the leading subversive independence group in Puerto Rico.

DETAILS:

[REDACTED] advised the San Juan Office that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He has been favorably disposed toward the FBI and San Juan Office and is on the Special Correspondence List.

[REDACTED] San Juan proposes to furnish [REDACTED] based on public statements made by Juan Mari Bras concerning efforts to gain independence for Puerto Rico through the United Nations, support of the Cuban Government and the South Viet Nam Liberation Front (Viet Cong), Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico membership within the Puerto Rican Commonwealth Government and the use of violence to gain independence.

105-93124
Enclosure *page 4-28-66*
1 - 105-292 (Juan Mari Bras)

TWK:pjn
(8)

CONTINUED OVER

66 MAY 6 1966

ON 6-17-66 5:00 PM LER/EB

105-93124-1
REC-20
APR 29 1966

[REDACTED]

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan
RE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
105-93124

OBSERVATION:

[REDACTED]

This radical pro-independence group headed by Mari Bras comprises only a small percentage of the total population of Puerto Rico. By publicizing his anti-American and pro-Cuban statements as well as his attitude towards the use of violence, it is believed he will lose additional prestige among the people of Puerto Rico. It appears advisable, however, to authorize San Juan to furnish [REDACTED] public source information upon which [REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel be sent to San Juan, authorizing it to furnish [REDACTED] public source information for its use [REDACTED]

TCH

W.C.S.
OK. N
H
V. N J

4/27/68

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

To: **ST-101** SAC, San Juan (105-3353 sub 1)

From: Director, FBI (105-93124) - 170

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

Reurairtel dated 4/19/68.

Bureau authority is granted to furnish [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] San Juan, Puerto Rico, public source information concerning statements made by Jan Mari Bras covering the points mentioned in reairtel. It appears more desirable that [REDACTED] based on the public source information rather than your office [REDACTED]

You must insure that the above-mentioned information is furnished to [REDACTED] with full security and that no embarrassment to the Bureau will result therefrom.

Advise the Bureau of the results of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in a letterhead memorandum.

TWK:pjn
(10)

1 - 105-292 (Juan Mari Bras)

Note; see memo [REDACTED] to Sullivan 4/26/68 same caption TWK:pjn

MAILED 12
APR 28 1968
COMM-FBI

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Wick
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

50 MAY 1 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

APR 27 10 44 PM '68

Rec'd

V

N

SECRETARY DIRECTOR

TWK

FBI

Date: 4/19/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)
FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353Sub1)(P)
GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR
PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
OO: SJ



In that connection, the SJO proposes to prepare _____ over topics about which MARI has made public statements in the past, thus avoiding betrayal of information known to the Bureau, which is not of general public knowledge; for example, MARI in the past has made public statements concerning MPIPR efforts to gain independence through the United Nations; about so-called MPIPR second level membership in various branches of the Puerto Rico Commonwealth Government; about MPIPR support of the CASTRO-Cuban Government and that of the South Viet Nam Liberation Front (Viet Cong); about MPIPR

*Auth 55
4/20/66
105-93124*

REC-11

105-93124-111

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (105-32872) (RM) (Info)
- 1 - San Juan

AEG:mar

ST-101

APR 22 1966

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

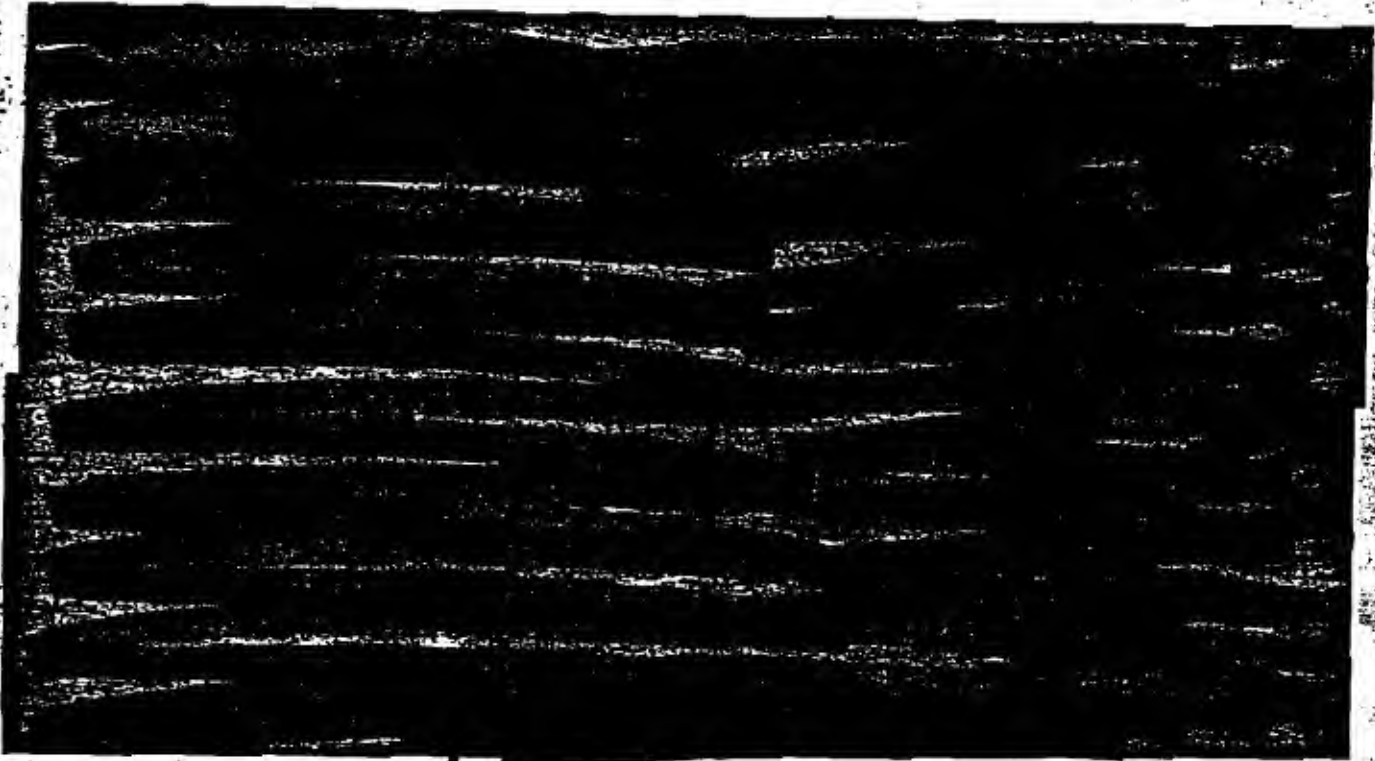
CDS

REBUBV. CONTROL

*Auth 55
4/27/66
MK:MN*

SJ 105-3353Sub 1

representation in Africa, Cuba, Europe, and Mexico; about the inapplicability of U. S. Selective Service laws to Puerto Ricans; his advocacy of the use of the electoral boycott as a means of gaining Puerto Rican independence.



SJ 105-3353Sub 1



In view of the time element involved, prompt Bureau approval is requested for this measure.

If the measure is approved, Bureau suggestions are solicited.

SAC, San Juan (105-3353) (Sub 1)

4/27/66

Director, FBI (105-93124)

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

**GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)**

Reurlet 4/14/66 and Bureau letter 3/30/66.

The Bureau desires that disruptive tactics be utilized to widen the breach between [redacted] and [redacted]. As an opening measure, it would appear sufficient to plant a thought in [redacted] mind that [redacted] is no longer completely loyal to him and, in fact, is subtly undermining his authority with other members of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR). Following this additional tactics should be employed to further create dissension between the two as opportunities arise.

You should consider something along the following lines. An anonymous letter, ostensibly from an ardent believer in independence who is a friend of [redacted] would be mailed to [redacted] his residence. This letter could indicate that the writer is a friend of [redacted] but is hurt by the snide remarks that [redacted] is making about [redacted] and that he has reluctantly come to the conclusion that [redacted] is knifing [redacted] in the back. The letter could indicate that the writer believes that [redacted] is getting overly ambitious and actually wants to take over the leadership of the MPIPR. The letter could indicate that the writer is advising [redacted] of this only because of the high esteem in which he holds [redacted] and because of his belief that [redacted] is the one leader who can obtain independence for Puerto Rico.

REC-7

APR 27 1966

Furnish the Bureau your observations on the above, and if you agree with this approach, submit appropriate letter to be sent to [redacted] for approval by the Bureau.

The use of the cartoon mentioned in referenced letter is being considered, and you will be advised separately.

TWK:SSS
(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAY 2 1966 TYPE UNIT

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Wick
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

[Handwritten initials]

[Handwritten initials]

MAILED 6
APR 27 1966

Letter to SAC, San Juan
RE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
105-93124

NOTE:

[REDACTED] is the leader of the MPIP and Pietri is in charge of foreign affairs. [REDACTED] headed a delegation to the Tri-Continental Convention held in Havana, Cuba, during January, 1966. The San Juan Star issue of 3/9/66 contained an editorial implying that the MPIP desired independence for Puerto Rico to place it under control of Cuba.

1 - Mr. [redacted]
1 - Mr. [redacted]

SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

5/4/66

Director, FBI (105-93124)-168

EX-112 REC-121

**GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)**

ReBulets 4/27/66 and 3/31/66 and your letter 4/14/66.

The intent of the suggested cartoon of the troika pulled by donkeys with heads of [redacted]

and [redacted] and being driven by Fidel Castro, was to graphically emphasize the control of Castro over the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico. It was felt that the cartoon would have some effect among the less enthusiastic members of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico and among other Independentists who are not affiliated with the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico. It was also intended that the cartoon would poke fun at [redacted] and place him in a defensive position. It is believed that a cartoon should be simple and limited to one central idea. Your ideas concerning a cartoon depicting [redacted] as being unhealthy and [redacted] as being dynamic and healthy and of [redacted] about to use a knife on [redacted] have merit and you should develop these ideas for separate cartoons to be used subsequently in the Counterintelligence Program.

Your comments and suggestions as to the possible benefits of the above-mentioned cartoon among the less enthusiastic Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico members and other Independentists are requested. If you agree that the idea of the cartoon would be effective, submit any suggested changes bearing in mind that the cartoon must be simple and direct.

TWK:lam
(5)

MAILED 4
MAY 4 1966
COMM-FBI

NOTE:

Bureau previously suggested to San Juan the mailing of a cartoon depicting a troika being drawn by three donkeys and driven by Fidel Castro. The donkeys were to have heads of [redacted]

[redacted] Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico leaders who are closely associated with Cuba. This was to be

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

55 MAY 9 1966

MAILED 7
MAY 10 1966

[Handwritten signature]
TWK/UNT

Letter to SAC, San Juan

RE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO

105-93124

NOTE CONTINUED:

superimposed on a map of Puerto Rico. In addition, Bureau had previously suggested counterintelligence tactics to San Juan to widen the known breach between [REDACTED] In San Juan's reply, it suggested combining the two ideas by having the donkey with head of [REDACTED] holding a dagger by one hoof in act of plunging knife into the back of donkey bearing head of [REDACTED] In addition, San Juan states there is a marked pro-Castro bent throughout the rank and file of the Movimiento Independencia de Puerto Rico and a tactic implying pro-Castro sentiments would have no effect within the organization.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124) DATE: 4/14/66

FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353Sub 1)(P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR
PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
OO: SJ

CDP
[Handwritten initials]

ReBullets to SJ, 3/30 and 31/66.

Enclosed herewith are two photographs each of [redacted] and [redacted] and one photograph of [redacted]

ReBulet of 3/30/66 points out that there appears to be a possibility of creating dissension between [redacted] and emerging MPI leader [redacted] while Bulet of 3/31/66 suggests a disruptive tactic involving an amateurish drawing depicting control of MPIPR leadership by FIDEL CASTRO, and requests San Juan comments.

The SJO concurs with the Bureau's suggestion and feels that it has excellent possibilities. The following is being offered as a refinement of the suggestion:

1. The SJO notes there have appeared other indications that all is not roses between [redacted] and [redacted] in that [redacted] has, for the most part, divorced himself from routine MPIPR affairs of an international nature and insists that [redacted] in his capacity as Foreign Relations Secretary, handle such matters.

2. The Bureau should note that within the MPI there is a marked pro-CASTRO-Cuba bent throughout the rank and file and a tactic implying pro-CASTRO sentiments alone would, in all probability, have no affect within the organization. However, a suggestion that MPI leadership is directly selected and controlled by Cuba, with the added implication that Puerto Rico on gaining independence would be thus controlled by Cuba, could have a very decided

- 2 - Bureau (Enc 5)(RM)
- 1 - New York (105-32872)(Info)(RM) ATTACHMENT
- 1 - San Juan

REG-70 105-93124-168
APR 18 1966

ACG:mar
(4)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CLOSURE

[Handwritten signature]

Two: San 5/11/66
to
4/23/66
W.K. 555

u



SJ 105-3353Sub 1

disruptive connotation to the rank and file membership. Accordingly, the following refinements of the Bureau's suggestion are offered:

The amateurish leaflet prepared by the Exhibit Section should contain the three donkeys superimposed on a rough map of Puerto Rico, the donkeys drawing the troika as before, the troika bearing the words "Independencia Puertorriquena". The two donkeys with the heads of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] should have their necks bowed and be pulling hard at the troika. The third donkey, bearing the head of [REDACTED] should be reared up, a dagger held by one hoof which he is in the act of plunging into the back of the donkey bearing the head of [REDACTED]. A drawing of FIDEL CASTRO should be superimposed over a rough map of Cuba, the CASTRO drawing leaning over towards Puerto Rico with one hand outstretched, holding an empty knife scabbard, thus implying he furnished the knife used by [REDACTED]. In his other hand he should hold the reins leading to the three donkeys. The caption should read "Revolucionarios Deben Ser Saludables, Obedientes y Ambisiosos" (Revolutionaries Should be Healthy, Obedient and Ambitious).

The above would imply that the MPIPR leadership was firmly controlled by Cuba, that an unhealthy [REDACTED] was being removed by the dynamic and obedient [REDACTED] at the direction of CASTRO, and would serve to point out the rift between [REDACTED] in addition to the CASTRO-Cuba control factor.

If significant results are obtained from this measure, it could be followed by other tactics of similar nature, in addition to usage of the established "Grupo Pro Uso Voto" method to further any rifts developed.

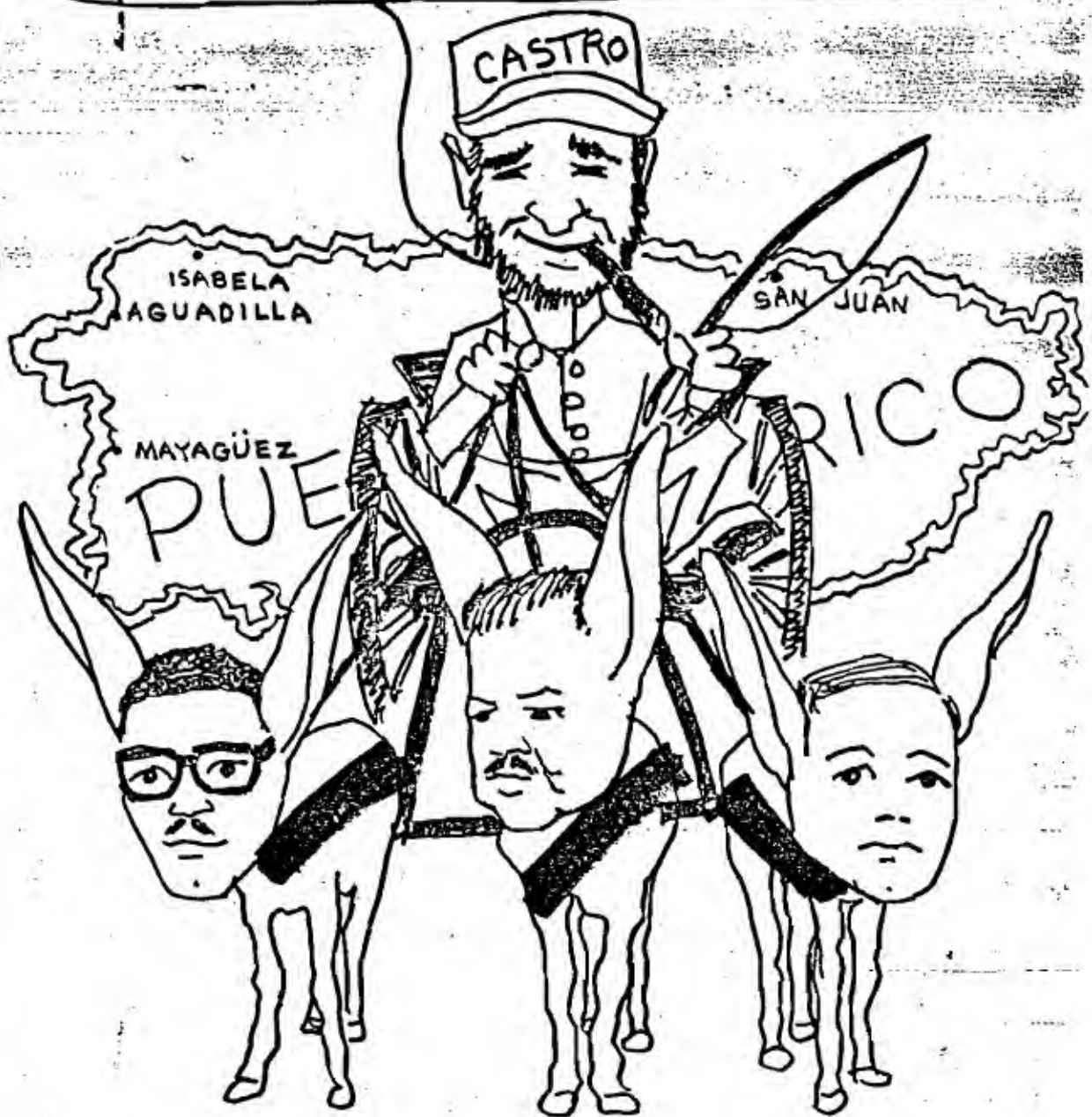
Bureau authority is solicited to put the above tactic into effect.

If Bureau approval is granted, Bureau should request the Exhibit Section to prepare 500 copies of above-described amateurish leaflet and forward same to San Juan, where the leaflet will be mailed under secure

BJ 105-3353Sub 1

conditions to selected individuals on the MPI mailing list and other known independentists.

SÍ! LA INDEPENDENCIA PARA
LOS PUERTORRIQUEÑOS



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 3/18/66

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (66-616)

ATTENTION: PERSONNEL SECTION

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - PRN
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION
RECOMMENDATION FOR LETTER OF COMMENDATION

*DECLASSIFIED BY 6060 LED/EP
ON 11-1-77*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Earlier this year the Commonwealth government announced its annual date for voters registration and immediately the principal subversive independence group, Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR), decided to initiate a powerful drive to prevent its members and all Puerto Ricans from registering to vote as a protest against U. S. domination of Puerto Rico. SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The Bureau at once recognized the merit of the proposed leaflet and authorized its distribution. This leaflet was distributed anonymously to independentista leaders and in it a protest was made that the MPIPR effort was being wasted on voter abstention and complained that honest, intelligent believers would accomplish more by registering and voting legally. The leaflet called the attention to previous similar failures of the MPIPR and cleverly ridiculed the top leaders.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - San Juan
- 1 - PF [REDACTED]
- WFE/djs
- (4) REC.D

*REC-113
463621-124
23
memo
Sullivan
TWK*

NOT RECORDED
128 APR 5 1966

8 MAR 23 1966

TOP SECRET

Handwritten notes on left margin:
TWK: jh:ier
2/2/66

[REDACTED]

The response was immediate and gratifying. The authoritative Spanish language newspaper "El Mundo" in its widely read political column, quoted from considerable portions of the leaflet and commented that clearly the authors of it were good Puerto Ricans who desired and were willing to fight for independence legitimately. The maximum leader of the MPIPR, who [REDACTED] have himself named to the permanent top leadership by acclamation, in a phony draft, revised his plans and continued in interim capacity. The MPIPR leadership privately believed that leaders of the legitimate party in Puerto Rico were responsible for the leaflet while they told their rank and file followers that it was the work of the police.

The legitimate independence group which had been leaning dangerously toward association with the MPIPR, broke away completely and indicated its members would register to vote and they condemned the MPIPR publicly in a press conference. The MPIPR retaliated by branding the legitimate independence leaders as traitors.

Sources reported general disruption in the ranks of the MPIPR and other independence groups and the leaders were reportedly upset over the ridicule made of them.

The issuance of this leaflet seriously disrupted the MPIPR leaders and their program and it is significant to note that there was no drop in the projected number of registrants indicating their program was an utter failure.

[REDACTED]

SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

3/31/66

Director, FBI (105-93124)

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

**GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)**

The "San Juan Star" issue of 3/9/66 contained an editorial which reads as follows:

Love Affair

The Puerto Rico Pro-Independence Movement (PIM) opened a permanent office in Havana last night and the head of the PIM's mission in Cuba hailed the event as an official recognition by Cuba of his group's efforts to divorce Puerto Rico from the United States.

More often than not a divorce is sought because one or the other of the partners has a new love. In this case the divorce would be followed by a quick marriage, apparently, between Puerto Rico and Castro's Cuba.

In line with the theme of the editorial, the Bureau desires that you consider the following disruptive tactic which is designed to further imply that the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico is dominated by Fidel Castro. An amateurish appearing leaflet prepared by the Exhibit Section of the Bureau would be mailed anonymously in Puerto Rico to independentists selected by your office. This proposed leaflet would contain a troika drawn by three donkeys with heads of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] with Fidel Castro as the driver brandishing a long whip. This would be superimposed on a rough map of Puerto Rico and would contain the caption "Si! La independencia para los puertorriquenos."

MAILED IN
MAR 31 1966
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Walt _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TWK:spg
(5)

69 APR 5 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO
REC 105-93124-166
19 MAR 31 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-66754) (105-80787)

DATE: 12/21/66

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353) (105-3733)

~~SECRET~~

Handwritten notes:
K...
Madame
St...

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
IS-PRN; CUBAN INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
CUBAN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Re Bulets to San Juan, 11/8, 10, and 15/66.

DATE: 12/21/66
With reference to suggestions and instructions arising from the two-day conference on Puerto Rican Nationalist matters, and instructions set out in referenced Bulets, and in line with thinking of the SJO concerning the apparent danger of violence from Puerto Rican separatists, particularly members of the MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR), the following action has been taken:

With regard to the missions of the MPIPR in the San Juan Metropolitan area and in outlying cities and towns throughout the island, active investigation is presently being conducted concerning these missions to determine the extent of the activity of each and every mission. When it is determined that a mission is active, investigation is being expanded to determine the organization, membership, funds and activities of each mission. To date, it has been determined that there are approximately 40 active missions and investigation is moving forward to determine the extent of activity and details listed above. Where appropriate, separate investigations have been initiated on the identified officers of the missions to determine the extent of their activities and verification of their official status. Upon completion of investigation of officers, recommendations for

Vertical handwritten notes:
105-159431 (PRIP)
105-95715 (MPIPR)
105-93124 (Cuban Intelligence Program)

- ④ - Bureau (RM)
(2 - 105-66754)
(2 - 105-80787)
- 3 - San Juan (105-3353)
(1 - 105-3733)
(1 - 105-3401 MPIPR)

HLM:BJK

~~SECRET~~

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REC-25
ST-107

Handwritten: 105-66754-166
DEC 25 1966
DEC 28 1966
DEC 31 1966
①



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan by 6:00 P.M. JAN 28 1967

Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-93124

~~SECRET~~

SJ 105-3353; 105-3733

placing these individuals on the Security Index will be made where deemed appropriate.

To date, with regard to the active members of the missions, investigation has been pointed toward identifying these members, with the eventual aim to conduct separate investigations concerning all highly active members.

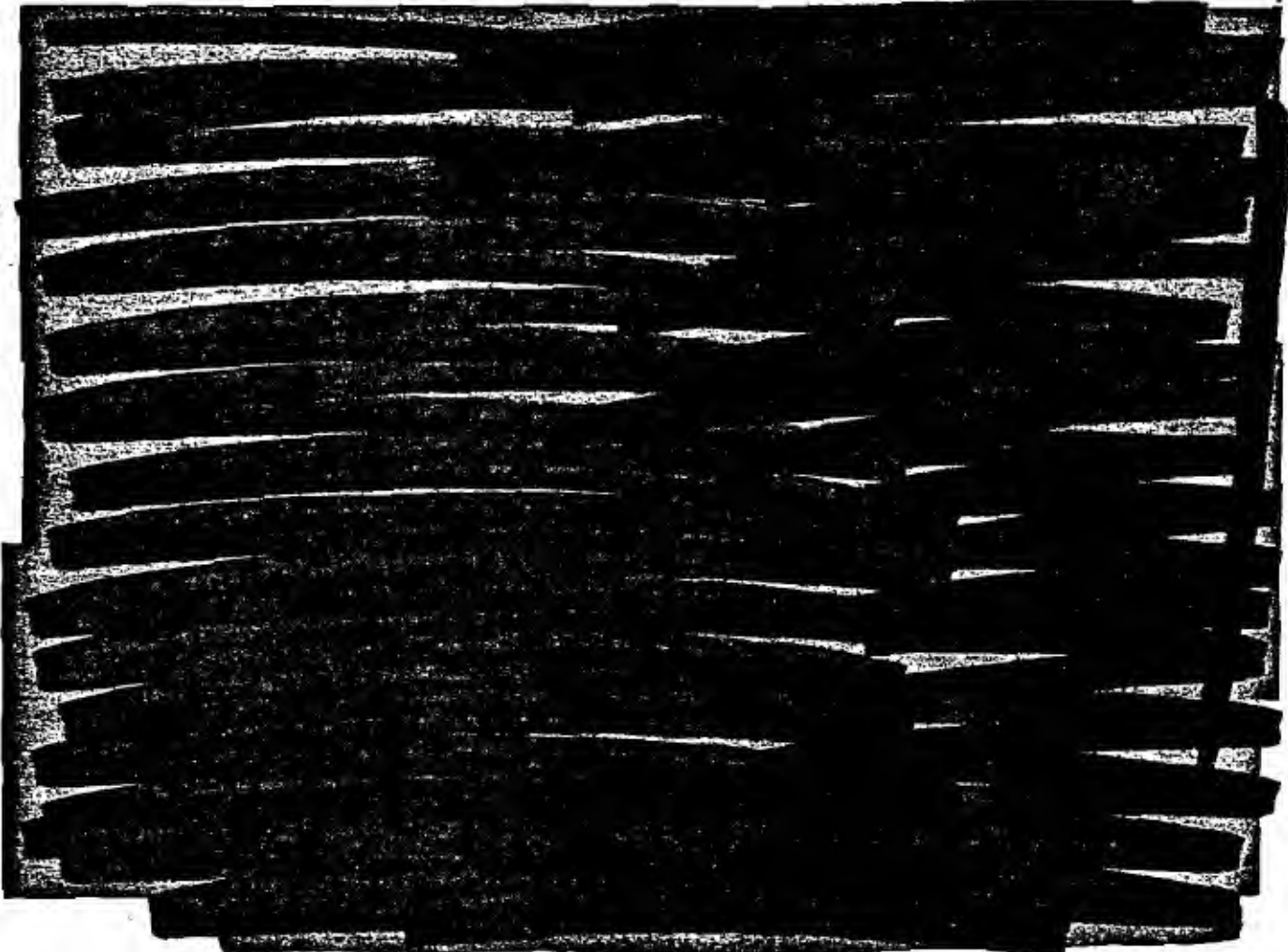


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SJ 105-3353; 105-3733

~~SECRET~~

The San Juan Office recognizes the importance, the extreme need and desirability for the program, however, due to a lack of manpower who can devote their full time and attention to this program at the present time, definite plans for implementing this program have not yet been made. Manpower needs will be commented on later. The survey, however, is continuing concerning the above listed individuals. //



3-
~~SECRET~~

SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

3/30/66

Director, FBI (105-93124)

1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

ReNYairtel dated 3/23/66 captioned [redacted]
Espionage - Cuba."

It appears that information contained in reairtel concerning [redacted] may present an opportunity to cause dissension between Juan Mari Bras and [redacted]. You should give this matter serious thought and furnish the Bureau your observations immediately. Any plan devised would have to be long-range in nature. At this point, it would appear that causing Mari Bras to believe that [redacted] is subtly attempting to undermine Mari Bras' position as leader of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico would have the desired effect. Following this, you would, of course, have to seize upon additional opportunities to keep Mari Bras' distrust and/or jealousy of [redacted] growing.

NOTE:

Both Mari Bras and [redacted] are in SI. Mari Bras is acting Secretary General of the MIPR and [redacted] recently headed a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana. According to reairtel [redacted]

TWK:spg
(6)

REC-113

105-3353-165

6 30 1966

MAILED 7
APR 29 1966
COMM-FBI

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Wick
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

Handwritten initials and signatures

54 APR 5 1966 TELETYPE UNIT

Handwritten initials

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 3/11/66

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353-Sub 1)(P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: SAN JUAN)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY *[Signature]*
DATE *3/11/66*

Re San Juan airtel 2/10/66 and Bureau airtel 2/23/66.

Spanish language leaflet proposed in re San Juan airtel and authorized in Bureau airtel was mailed under secure conditions at Bayamon and Guaynabo, Puerto Rico, on February 27 and 28, 1966.

Reaction to the leaflet was immediate and results exceeded all expectations.



The March 3, 1966, edition of the San Juan Spanish language daily newspaper, "El Mundo" in its political column "Trasfondo" written by "El Mundo" Sub-Director MIGUEL A. SANTIN,

- 2 - Bureau (RM)(Enc.2)
 - 1 - New York (Enc.1)(RM)
 - 2 - San Juan
- ACG/djs
(5)

REC-43

cards
REC-3

MAR 16 1966

53 APR 6 1966

53 MAR 29 1966

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

SUBV. CONTROL

105-3353-1000

~~SECRET~~

who is the local newspaperman mentioned in the San Juan airtel who was assaulted by members of the FUPI on the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) campus on February 4, 1966, quoted the majority of the leaflet verbatim, pointing out that although JUAN MARI BRAS claims that the MPIPR represents the ideals of the people and hence does not need votes because the vote means nothing in Puerto Rico, not all members of the MPI feel the same way as evidenced by the leaflet put out by a group within the MPI.

Two copies of a translation of SANTIN's column are attached for the Bureau and one for New York for examination.

The March 4, 1966, edition of "El Mundo" in the "Trasfondo" column states that Havana radio had recently stated the MPI had called an emergency general assembly on February 27, 1966, to organize the fight against the colonial plebiscite and that the MPI had declared the "Yankee imperialists" had started a campaign in favor of the plebiscite which must be counteracted. The inference in the column was that the Cuban government had a great deal to do with the formulation of MPIPR policy.

SECRET

[REDACTED]

Bearing in mind the above information relative to placing of the blame of the leaflet on PIP youth leadership, it is noted that only recently PIP President [REDACTED] had publicly endorsed MPI policy regarding abstention from colonialist plebiscites. S

The March 2, 1966, edition of "El Imparcial", another Spanish language daily newspaper published in San Juan, carried banner headlines stating "The PIP Repudiates MPI Call", and states the PIP at Ponce, Puerto Rico, on that date had repudiated the MPI call for abstention in the voter's registration drive scheduled for March 6, 1966. P.R.

The March 4, 1966, edition of "El Mundo" carried an article which stated that PIP Vice President FRANCISCO SUSONI at a press conference on March 2, 1966, at Ponce, Puerto Rico, had condemned the MPI and the FUPI with reference to the electoral boycott campaign, saying independence should be achieved democratically.

The March 8, 1966, edition of "El Día", a Spanish language newspaper published daily at Ponce, Puerto Rico, carried an article captioned "MPI Calls PIP Leaders Traitors", which states that on March 7, 1966, MPI leaders assembled at MPI headquarters in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, and issued an official statement to the effect that for refusing to participate in the MPI electoral boycott, the leadership of the PIP had become traitors to Puerto Rico.

[REDACTED]

SJ 105-3353-Sub 1

San Juan Office analysis of the above

Noting that "El Mundo" is the oldest, largest and most respected newspaper in Puerto Rico with a circulation approaching 200,000 and additionally is decidedly pro-United States, and noting also that Puerto Ricans in general have been closely following the aftermath of "Trasfondo" columnist SANTIN's assault at the UPR, it is certain that the text of the leaflet brought to the attention of the general public the idea the MPI has split factionally within.

Additionally the open battle now raging between MPI and PIP leadership has obviously not only served to destroy the measure of unity previously achieved between the two groups, but it has brought public attention to the rift, and it appears assured this will serve to defeat any efforts to unify the two groups for some time to come owing to the fiery temperament of Latins in general as related to politics.

The fact that the island's three Spanish language newspapers "El Mundo", "El Imparcial" with an average circulation of 70,000, and "El Dia" with a circulation numbering 28,000, all carried blow by blow descriptions of the developing rift between the MPI and the PIP, thus bringing the conflict to some 300,000 people throughout the island, gives the assurance that the general public is now aware of the behind-the-scenes maneuvering of key leaders in both groups and any individuals supporting the independence cause in Puerto Rico are likely to resist any further efforts to unify the two organizations.

In addition the fact that MPI youth leader [REDACTED] was mentioned specifically in the leaflet, as quoted in the "Trasfondo" column, has further focused attention on the FUPI and its questionable activities both upon and outside the UPR campus, will certainly result in public condemnation of the organization, it being noted that several FUPI leaders are already facing disciplinary action at the University as a result of their involvement in the assault on SANTIN at the University.

SJ 105-3353-Sub 1

In summation, results of this leaflet, both direct and indirect, exceeded all expectations from the standpoint that a powerplay by JUAN MARI BRAS to regain the key leadership position of the MPI was unequivocally defeated and all successes achieved in the past toward unifying the PIP and the MPIPR were destroyed.

The situation will be carefully observed for further opportunities to exploit the split between the MPIPR and the PIP.

The Bureau will be advised of any additional results achieved by this recent disruptive tactic.

From "El Mundo", March 3, 1966

"Trasfondo"
by MIGUEL A. SANTIN

Now that we are talking about registrations, listed to what the lawyer JUAN MARI BRAS, Secretary General of the Movimiento Pro Independencia (Independence Movement) (MPI) said during Sunday's convention:

"We don't have to go asking for the people's votes, because we are the able representatives of the people. It is not the statistics of one vote what decides the people's representation; because it is not the true expression, which should be the people's will, if it is channeled by the created interests.

"This assembly very well could represent the people, for coming here represents a challenge of a body of repressions before the greatest injury brought upon any country in history."

This is what MARI BRAS said.

Let's not talk about Cuba.

But we have to say that the MPI meeting could take place because we live in a democratic country where the right of freedom of speech and assembly is guaranteed, even to those who try to destroy it.

But not all members of the MPI have MARI BRAS' point of view.

In the MPI there is a group using the slogan - "Wake up Puerto Rican - Use your Vote!"

The "MPI Group for the Use of the Vote" says:

"We who want independence have to unite and vote for it. We thought we were rid of our leader when he left Don PEDRO's funeral in a quiver, but here he is again, after doing away with the feeble figurehead he had put over us.

"We are no nearer independence now although our leaders have traveled throughout the world, ostensibly on behalf of independence. Instead, we of the independence movement are held up in disgrace by the actions of our youth

TRANS [REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

in the FUPI, who are the very ones who should be struggling responsibly for independence.

"We are ashamed of our FUPI youth and lay the blame squarely on our young leader and his associates. Certainly PEREZ and IRIZARRY are not typical Puerto Ricans....

"Let's have less junkets to New York, Europe, and Asia on 'international' missions, and more honest responsible work to achieve our dream of an independent fatherland."

These are the ones who believe in registrations, votes, and the democratic process.

They are good Puerto Ricans....

From "El Mundo", March 3, 1966

~~SECRET~~

"Trasfondo"
by MIGUEL A. SANTIN

Now that we are talking about registrations, listen to what the lawyer JUAN MARI BRAS, Secretary General of the Movimiento Pro Independencia (Independence Movement) (MPI) said during Sunday's convention:

"We don't have to go asking for the people's votes, because we are the able representatives of the people. It is not the statistics of one vote what decides the people's representation; because it is not the true expression, which should be the people's will, if it is channeled by the created interests.

"This assembly very well could represent the people, for coming here represents a challenge of a body of repressions before the greatest injury brought upon any country in history."

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"We are no nearer independence now although our leaders have traveled throughout the world, ostensibly on behalf of independence. Instead, we of the independence movement are held up in disgrace by the actions of our youth

TRANS: 

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"Let's have less junkets to New York, Europe, and Asia on 'international' missions, and more honest responsible work to achieve our dream of an independent fatherland."

These are the ones who believe in registrations, votes, and the democratic process.

They are good Puerto Ricans....

2/23/66

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1

Airtel

EOI-XE

To: SAC, San Juan (105-3353, Sub 1)

From: Director, FBI (105-93124) — 163

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

Reurairtel 2/10/66.

Bureau authority is granted to prepare and mail the recommended leaflet in the Spanish language as recommended in referenced letter.

You must insure that the leaflet will be prepared and mailed in such a manner that it cannot be traced back to the Bureau or any of its employees. Advise the Bureau of results.

TWK:crbc - b
(5)

NOTE:

The proposed leaflet is a continuation of the counter-intelligence program against the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MPIPR). The leaflet is designed to expand existing dissension within the ranks of the MPIPR and to counteract the effects of the proposed electoral boycott of the forthcoming plebiscite concerning the status of Puerto Rico. The leaflet is also designed to show the MPIPR control over and responsibility for the acts of the Federation of University Students for Independence, although leaders of the MPIPR have recently publically denied such control and responsibility. The leaflet will be put out under the name of a fictitious group (Group for Use of the Vote in the MPIPR); this is the same name that has been used in other leaflets which have been very successful in disrupting the activities of the MPIPR.

MAILED 11
FEB 23 1966
COMM-FBI

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Wick _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Rm. _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

55 MAR 1 1966

MAR ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Handwritten notes and signatures:
WCS
[Signature]
[Signature]

F B I

Date: 2/10/66

Handwritten initials and number 2/14

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)
FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353, sub 1)
SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO; SAN JUAN)

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By way of background in this matter, the following points should be noted:

The MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR), with JUAN MARI BRAS as the principal architect, conducted an abortive electoral strike campaign in 1964, with the final result in substance being that the PARTIDO INDEPENDENTISTA PUERTORRIQUENO (Independence Party of Puerto Rico) (PIP), dropped its share of the total vote cast to the point where it no longer is a legally constituted political party in Puerto Rico.

During the Tenth Annual Congress of the FEDERACION DE UNIVERSITARIOS PRO-INDEPENDENCIA (Federation of University Students for Independence) (FUPI) held on 10/11/65, the MPIPR assured itself of control and direction of the FUPI by bringing MPIPR youth leaders [redacted] to the positions of FUPI President and Vice-President respectively.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (105-32872) (RM) (Info)
 - 1 - San Juan
- ACG:gjk
(5)

Handwritten notes: TWN file, 2/29/66

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FEB 17 1966

Approved: WEL
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

SUBV. CONTROL

SF 105-3353, Sub 1

On 2/4/66, the FUPI held a mass demonstration on the campus of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) to protest the appearance there of a local newspaperman who is pro-American and anti-pro-independence in his political writings. The newspaperman was roughed-up somewhat by members of the FUPI.

On 2/8/66, JUAN MARI BRAS and other MPIPR leaders held a press conference at San Juan, Puerto Rico, during which MARI BRAS stated that beginning in 3/66, the MPIPR would conduct an intensive campaign to encourage Puerto Ricans not to register for the coming elections.

MARI BRAS, in answer to a direct question, denied that the MPIPR exercises control over the FUPI, stating that that organization is an autonomous group which formulates its own policy.

Recognizing the need to counteract the coming electoral boycott and also the statement by MARI BRAS denying MPIPR control of the FUPI, we propose to mail out a leaflet under the auspices of our fictitious group, the "GRUPO PRO USO VOTO DEL MPI," which will remind MPIPR members and the general public of the failure of the electoral strike campaign of 1964 and will admit MPIPR control of the FUPI, as well as ridicule MPIPR youth leaders and FUPI officers [redacted] and [redacted].

The leaflet will also remind the MPIPR rank and file of the monetary cost to them of the last electoral boycott campaign and will imply that their hard-earned money is being spent for expense-paid junkets by MPIPR leadership abroad. It likewise ridicules JUAN MARI BRAS for his resignation as MPIPR Secretary General and recent resumption of that post after shouldering aside an ailing [redacted].

The text of the proposed leaflet is as follows:

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

**"DESPIERTA BORICUA, DEFIENDE LO TUYO"
(Wake Up Puerto Rican, Defend What is Yours)**

"Well, they've done it again. During the last elections our young leader and his intellectual henchmen ruined our treasury and took all our money in a futile attempt to keep Puerto Ricans from voting. What a failure!

"Now our youthful leader is at it again and wants us to abstain from plebiscite voting, in fact, any voting at all. Haven't he and the Bald Eagle learned their lesson?

"We who want independence must unify and vote for it. We thought we were rid of our leader when he quit in a huff at Don Pedro's funeral, but here he is back again after shouldering aside the ailing figurehead he put over us.

"We are no nearer independence now although our leaders have traveled throughout the world, ostensibly on behalf of independence. Instead, we of the independence movement are held up in disgrace by the actions of our youth in the FUPI who are the very ones who should be struggling responsibly for independence. We are ashamed of our FUPI youth and lay the blame squarely on our young leader and his associates. Certainly Fatt [redacted] and [redacted] are not typical Puerto Rican young men, but rather are typical hoodlums.

"Let's have less hooliganism and expense-paid junkets to New York, Europe, and Asia on 'international' missions and more honest responsible work to achieve our dream of an independent fatherland.

"Wake up, Puerto Rican, Make Use of the Vote!"

"GRUPO PRO USO VOTO DEL MPI"

As has been done in the past, we propose to mail

SJ 105-3353, sub 1

this leaflet from Post Offices in outlying areas to those persons on our portion of the MPIPR mailing list, as well as to the selected independence leaders.

As indicated above, it is believed that this leaflet represents a definite opportunity to counteract statements made by MARI BRAS in his recent press conference and further undermine his position as maximum leader of the Puerto Rican independence movement, coming as it will, immediately after his statements at the above-mentioned press conference.

Bureau authority is solicited to immediately put the proposed counterintelligence tactic into effect.

DIRECTOR, FBI

12/17/65

ATTENTION: PERSONNEL SECTION

SAC, SAN JUAN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR
PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
RECOMMENDATION FOR COMMENDATION

[REDACTED]

In the fall of this year the Secretary-General of this organization in the group's weekly letter to its members, ordered that MPIPR members should not take part in independence activities or demonstrations of other independence groups without the approval of MPIPR headquarters.

Immediately prior to the issuance of these instructions by the MPIPR leadership, an official of the Puerto Rico Anti-Colonialist Congress, a prominent attorney, announced a pro-independence demonstration to be held in the San Juan area to which all independentists were invited.

[REDACTED]

- (2) - Bureau
- 2 - San Juan (1 - 67-12)
- (1 - PF SA [REDACTED])

RLW/djs
(4)

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REC-117

105-92124-162
RECORDED
JAN 7 1966

698
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

2-28-75 ckm

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SLIP(S) DATE 6-11-87 [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

8J 67-12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Another MPIPR leader writing in their weekly letter commented in a guarded way that the MPIPR was going to be more circumspect in discussing its activities before the United Nations since they did not wish to advertise their activities to the enemy.

[REDACTED]

SJ 67-12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] declared that there were strong indications the MPIPR was attempting to destroy the Anti-Colonialist Congress.

It is clear from the above that the leaflet has struck the MPIPR faithful, particularly at the leadership level, with dismay and has served to disrupt them and prevent them from joining forces with the Anti-Colonialist Congress. Both of these groups are anti-United States and our leaflet has sharply reduced any progress they might have toward unity.

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 12/29/65

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: SJ)

Re New York airtel to the Bureau, 11/30/65; Bureau letter to New York, 12/29/65.

The article written by [redacted], of the New York Mission of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR) which appeared in "Soulbook", Volume 1, No. 3, has been carefully reviewed by the San Juan Office (SJO) and the following conclusions have been reached:

1. Although the article was released without prior approval by MPIPR leadership it, in general, follows throughout the basic policy and guide lines already established by the MPIPR with reference to published propaganda. Indeed, the statistics quoted in the article referring to prostitution and drug addiction are almost identical to figures published in the past in the MPIPR organ "Claridad".

The statements regarding the testing of nuclear weapons and experiments on political prisoners have also been prominent in MPIPR propaganda in Puerto Rico.

2. With reference to Point No. 3 of New York's suggested cover letter wherein PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS' negro ancestry is mentioned, it should be noted that while racial prejudice does exist to a degree among the upper social classes in Puerto Rico, the vast majority of Puerto Ricans, principally due to their poor socio-economic background, have a very liberal approach to the race question.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (105-32872) (RM)
2-San Juan
ACG:zhc
(6)

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SECURITY AGENCIES

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SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

In short, the average Puerto Rican, while admittedly proud of his Spanish heritage, makes little effort to claim pure Caucasian ancestry.

With the above in mind, it appears to the SJO that although the counterintelligence measure suggested by the New York Office quite probably would achieve desirable results with regard to ██████ himself, the likelihood of advancing MPIPR aims directly outweighs the benefits derived in the expulsion of ██████ from the New York Mission, since the article in question is basically and fundamentally anti-U. S. and would be accepted as such by the rank and file MPIPR membership.

The attention of the Bureau and New York is drawn to the addendum at the bottom of Page 213 of "Soulbook" above, immediately following the end of the English version of the article in question, wherein an excerpt from "The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers" by GEORGE PADMORE is quoted to the effect that in spite of declarations to the contrary, negroes of the Latin American Republics do not enjoy an economic, social and political equality in those Republics.

The New York Office might consider the possibility of a propaganda leaflet directed both at the New York MPIPR Mission members and to chosen individuals among the Black Nationalist groups in New York City, ostensibly written by an anonymous member of the New York Mission, in which attention would be drawn to the fact that although "Soulbook" Volume 1, No. 3, carried an article supporting Puerto Rican independence, the very fact that the article was immediately followed by the above-mentioned addendum, suggests that the black Nationalist movement does not truly support Puerto Rican independence because it accuses Latins of hypocritically practicing racial discrimination.

Possibly, the above outlined leaflet would prove effective in creating a greater rift between the MPIPR in New York and the black Nationalist movement, thus



ROBERT WILLIAMS: A NEW FIGURE ON STAGE AND SCREEN

Recently The Touring Artists Group (TAG) in Los Angeles, Calif, began presenting, If We Must Live, a three act impressionist play by Frank Greenwood. The play is based on Robert Williams and the Black people of Monroe, North Carolina's militant struggle against Ku Klux Klan and F.B.I. terror.

On the other side of the globe, at almost the same time, a Peking film studio produced a 70 minute documentary entitled: Robert Williams in China. It covers Mr. and Mrs. Robert Williams recent tour of the Peoples' Republic of China.

The Cuban Film Institute has further utilized the talents and background of Brother Williams. With his help they have just finished reproducing a documentary on the Afroamerican freedom struggle.

Good luck in your new career, Rob, at least we know you will do a better job in portraying Black masculinity than hollywood or Broadway!

the man from f.l.n. : brother frantz fanon

by kenn P. freeman

"The spectre of a storm is haunting the Western World. Its foreboding presence is being felt in the great capitals from Rome to Bonn to Paris, to Brussels to London, across the Atlantic to New York and Washington, across the Pacific to Melbourne and Sidney: the spectre of a storm is brewing on the horizons of the West..."¹

When the young, staunchly-Black intellectual Roland Snellings thrust this legitimate observation before the oft-deceived Afroamerican people, I, for one, was sceptical of this 'spectre of a storm'. It was Frantz Fanon who hacked to pieces my uncertainty about this inexorable search of the Third World to be heard!

After reading the Wretched Of The Earth* I wanted to read everything by, and about, this Black man par excellence. Yes, he was a man because he wrote with courageous honesty; and he could know reality because he was born Black. I felt that by knowing his assertions and about his capacity to tell the truth that somehow I might exorcise myself from many of the puerile myths of my often ambiguous, but progressing life.

Each sentence Fanon placed on the page is like spoken roses, but when an unsuspecting reader allows it to enter into his mind it explodes like a bomb with a creative violence that smashes one to the ground of reality. Listen to another eminent Black Martiniquais paint us an a propos portrait of Fanon's unique style of writing: "Always, everywhere, the same lucidity, the same forcefulness, the same fearlessness of analysis, the same spirit of 'scandalous' demystification."²

Yes, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. As I digested the souffle-like flow of Fanon's words his 'scandalous' truth destroyed scores of my white-infested untruths, distortions and doubts about that universal storm of Black, Brown,

Yellow peoples.... Thank You Brother Frantz.

Now I must tell you something about this man whose book, Les Damnés De La Terre, I have just finished reading for the third time:

Frantz Fanon was born in 1925 in Fort De France, Martinique, 'French' West Indies. Although he read medicine at the Sorbonne, and later specialized in Psychiatry, nevertheless he once said: "I don't give a damn about Europe, its culture and diplomacy, or the institutions it tolerates which are just so many instruments of domination. We should chuck out that garbage and tell ourselves we have nothing to lose by doing so. Otherwise, no liberation is possible!"³. During World War II even though he was studying at the University of Paris he found time to work with Présence Africaine. Although later -- if not at this early date -- he had serious disagreements with this group over the concept of Négritude, they seemed to always have had the utmost respect for Fanon. Upon Fanon's tragic death in 1961 the father of Négritude, Aimé Césaire, summed up the feelings of the majority of the leaders of the études noires when he said: "Fanon is dead. We knew for months that he was going to die, but we were hoping against all reason, because we knew him to be resolute and so essential to our horizon of man, that some miracle would transpire."⁴.

In 1952 Fanon's first book Peau Noire, Masque Blancs (Black Skin, White Masks -- it is supposed to be published in English soon by Grove Press) was published in Paris. Immediately after that he started working as a psychiatrist in Blida, Algeria. When the Algerian war broke out, he joined the F. L. N., but he still found time to speak in Paris in 1956 at the First Congress of Black Writers. He was also the Chief Editor of the F. L. N. newspaper, El Moudjahid and during the same period he wrote another book, Year V of the Algerian Revolution. In 1960 he became one of the leaders of the Algerian Provisional Government, and then he went off to Ghana to become Algeria's Ambassador to that country.

It is reported that in 1961, upon learning that he had leukemia he merely laughed, and only expressed concern about whether he had time to complete his writings (he was at the time working on The Wretched of the Earth) and of course whether he would get the opportunity to die on the battlefield fighting for the F. L. N.



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Maybe his contempt for death at that time was a consequence of the fact that he had faced it two times before, and each time he had leaped over its devouring precipice. The first time his jeep ran over a mine near the Algerian-Moroccan Frontier and he emerged with twelve fractured vertebrae, complicated by paraplegia and sphincteral disorders. The second time he was in Rome when the car in which he was to ride was wired with explosives by the "Red Hand" (the same group of French terrorists who murdered the Camerounian patriot, Brother Félix Moumié), but the bomb exploded prematurely, missing Brother Fanon, but killing 2 Italian Children playing near the car.

But no matter when Frantz Fanon died physically his writings have been kept alive and are being enshrined into the psyches of the new Black revolutionaries. They have inflamed the intellectual circles of all French-speaking Africa; and I predict a similar fate for his message in the rest of the 'Third World' -- including Afroamerica.

But not only are his works of importance to the exiled Africans in the western world, but the fact that Fanon was also a member of the forced diaspora makes him a critical example for young Black Americans. We are chronically asking ourselves 'What is Africa to us?' We want to know how we could possibly be of any benefit to the 'fellahin', 'guajiros', 'untouchables' and all the other 'Soul Brothers' of the universe. Again it's Césaire who points to an answer:

"Fanon probably soared to such heights and was possessed of so wide a horizon because he was a West Indian, meaning that he started from so lowly and narrow a basis. Maybe it was necessary to be West Indian, that is, to be so destituted, so depersonalized, in order to go forth with such ardour to the conquest of oneself and of plenitude; West Indian, this is to say, so mystified in the beginning as to finally be able to expose the most secret motives of mystification, and with such mastery; finally, West Indian to be capable of so forcefully escaping from impotency by action, from solitude by fraternity." 5.

Although Césaire speaks here of the West Indian, it is apparent from the context of his remarks that he is suggesting that mankind is obliged to be led by the dispersed of Ethiopia, the hewers of street corner mauls, and drawers of white racist paternalism. He is saying that it is we, who are exiled from self and homeland, are best able to 'set afoot a new man'; and that it was Frantz Fanon who illustrates our potential.... Thank You Brother Frantz

I am going to discuss the Wretched of the Earth :

A couple of comments are in order in regards to the English translation by Constance Farrington of Les Damnés De La Terre. On the whole it is good. But there are two problems that can make for decisive confusion: one is the word "native" and the other is "Negroism."



Fanon in the original did not say "l'indigène" which is translated "The native". What he did say was "le colonisé" which is translated as "the colonized". There is an obvious big difference between "The native" and "the colonized". Translating Negritude into "Negroism" is dangerous because it leads to a greater misunderstanding of a school of thought that is already misunderstood in the English speaking world. My opinion is that it should have been left in the French when it was put into the English text.

When Fanon's book was first published in Paris, French liberals let loose their bag of trite, ambiguous barrages upon it, saying that it was too full of "violence and hatred," or that Fanon might be guilty of "racism in reverse." Incidentally the French Government subsequently banned the book.

In the U.S. the liberals are giving the book similar treatment: Harold Isaacs, "the non-responsible fellow-traveler" of Black thinkers has apparently been crowned the castrator of Frantz Fanon.

It is ironic that in his review essay⁶ of Fanon's book Isaacs saves his most caustic remarks for Sartre's introduction to the book. Isaacs says: "Sartre dances around Fanon like an excited small satyr..." This is ironic because both Sartre and Isaacs have often (or to be more precise, Sartre often and Isaacs virtually all the time) been the observers, attempting to analyze and interpret Black peoples' thoughts. But there is a generic difference between white intellectual Sartre and white egg-head Isaacs: Isaacs has endeavored to defoliate all blossoming progressive Black ideas -- with a stress on Afroamerican ones; however, Sartre has tried always to honestly interpret the beauty and significance of Black peoples' literature and political theory without telling us that we should want something different.⁷ (But this does not imply that Black people need Sartre to interpret for them; but White people need Sartre to show them why they are the most hated group of people in the Universe, and probably beyond.) In this context we can -- although we are not obliged to -- appreciate Sartre's dynamic, understanding preface; and likewise, all of Isaacs' thoroughly trite and condescending remarks should be scorned, and then forgotten.

Although we must suspect -- rather than respect -- Isaacs' position,

we must realize that he has considerable influence amongst the naive negro camp-followers of pot-moralistic white liberals. Hence for our confused brothers' sake we must wage a resolute campaign against his obstrusions on Black revolutionary thought.

When Isaacs looks at Fanon through his liberal-scope he sees all kinds of take-offs in "a succession of wild and blurry yonders." Although it is true that much of Fanon's thoughts are incomplete (is this amazing when the man knew he was racing against death to finish this book?), he is quite consistent with his two main themes:

"Now, the 'fellah', the unemployed man, the starving native do not lay a claim to the truth; they do not say that they represent the truth for they are the truth." (p.34)

The other focus of interest is:

"The nationalist militant who had fled from the town in disgust...discovers in real action a new form of political activity which in no way resembles the old. These politics are national, revolutionary and social and these new facts which the native will now come to know exist only in action. They are the essence of the fight which explodes the old colonial truths and reveals unexpected facets, which brings out new meanings and pinpoints the contradictions camouflaged by these facts... Violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, and gives the key to them. WITHOUT THAT KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRACTICE OF ACTION, THERE'S NOTHING BUT A FANCY-DRESS PARADE AND THE BLARE OF THE TRUMPETS." p. 117 (emphasis added by kaf)

So when one reads Fanon's masterpiece he should keep in mind these enlightening passages; they are the containers that enclose the heterogeneous insights that are spread like wildfire through this incendiary book.

Isaacs says that Fanon is saying that violence is the only way to win manhood. It is very true that Fanon is convinced that violence is the best arm of the colonized that can be used against the colonialist barbarity; he is also convinced that violence is of maximum sociological value because 'the colonized's violence unifies the people; and at the level of psychology: 'it frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect.' But Fanon is quick to call a halt to generalizations:

"We know for sure today that in Algeria the test of force was inevitable; but other countries through the work of clarification undertaken by a party led their people to the same results." p54

Isaacs says that "it is not easy to play Fanon's game..(???? --kmf)...without a scorecard to tell you who the players are...." But Isaacs' bias to bourgeoisize everything Black proscribes him from seeing that Fanon obviously does not give a hot damn what the names of the players are in the (cont. p. 168)

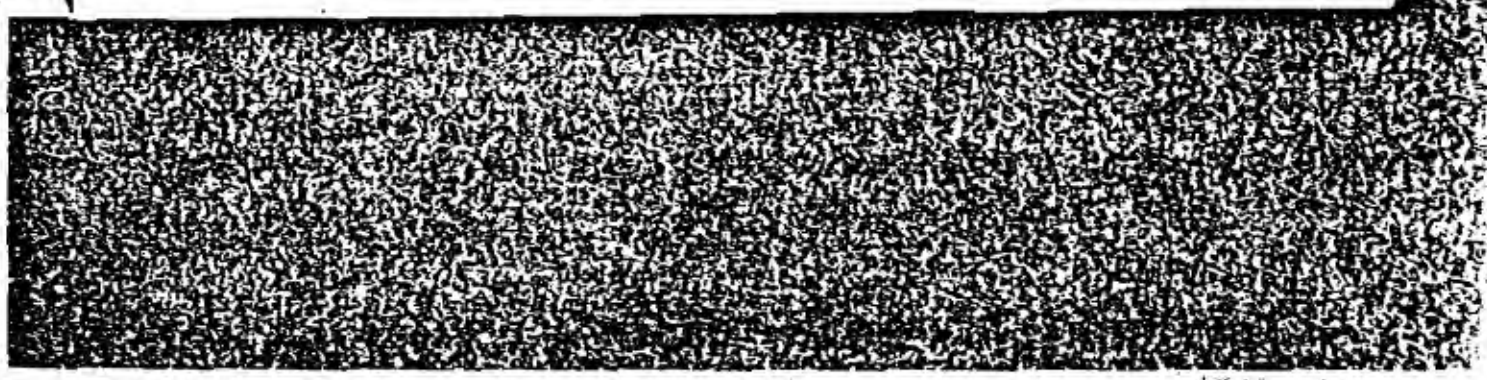
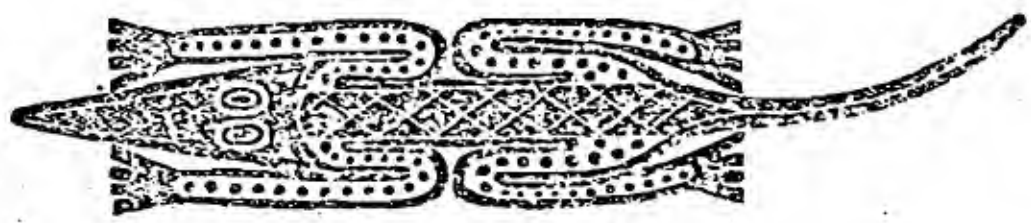
contest of humanity against inhumanity. In fact Fanon throws quid pro quo for the insipid Isaacs and his ilk :

"In order to arrive at this conception of the party, we must above all rid ourselves of the very western, very bourgeois and therefore contemptuous attitude that the masses are incapable of governing themselves. In fact experience proves that the masses understand perfectly the most complicated problems." (p.150)

So Fanon in one of the most astonishing sections of his book, goes on to give myriad examples from his Algerian experience to prove this point. But he states that there is one hitch: "It is true that if care is taken to use only language that is understood by graduates in law and economics, you can easily prove that the masses have to be managed from above. But if you speak the language of every day, then you will realize that the masses are quick to seize every shade of meaning and to learn all the tricks of the trade." (p. 151) To be sure the significance is not missed -- even by those who need 'scorecards' -- he goes on to say: "Everything can be explained to the people on the single condition that you really want them to understand." (p. 151)

While I am speaking of leaders it is noteworthy that Fanon's scoreboard gives us the necessary understanding to fill Afroamerica's scorecard on its fictitious Afroamerican political leadership (particularly if we apply his criteria to their game just before, during and after the 1964 Harlem 'riots'); and he also cooks us some food for thought vis-a-vis the post-independent Kenyan situation :

"What is the reaction of the nationalist parties to this eruption of the peasant masses into the national struggle?...They don't oppose the continuing of the rebellion, but they content themselves with leaving it to the spontaneous action of the country people..... They do not go into the countryside to educate the people politically, or to increase their awareness or put the struggle into a higher level. All they do is to hope that, carried onwards by its own momentum, the action of the people will not come to a standstill.. In Kenya for example, during the mau-mau rebellion, not a single well-known nationalist declared his affiliation with the movement, or even to defend the men involved in it." pp. 93-94



"Fanon wants no part of any kind of counter-racism, no part of Négritude... no part of a "Black culture," no part of leaning on specious glorifications of the past..." Isaacs does it again! He uses his pseudo-skill in sermonizing on quarter-truths.

The truth is that Fanon is very conscious of the fact that imperialism has 'devalued' the glorious past of Africa. And he, as much as Senghor, Césaire or J.A. Rogers is convinced of the historical necessity of studying the history of the colored peoples of the world, and particularly Black people studying their own history regardless of what nation-state they might live in. But he goes on to say that the colonized intellectual "is obliged to dissect the heart of his people." (p. 171) So he carries this line of reasoning further and observes that often those who profess to tear themselves away from western culture embrace, rather pretentiously, a few "outer garments" of traditional African life (sandals, etc.); but he observes that what these intellectuals are concerned with cannot bring them to an understanding in order 'to measure the real situation which the men and women of his country know.' (p. 180) He adds that when the people take it upon themselves to struggle against their colonial oppressors their "principles of custom" are undergoing radical changes, mainly because these same principles during colonialism acted as "safeguards" (roughly defensive mechanisms) and during the struggle it is violence and/or political action which become the "safeguards". Thus he comes to the conclusion that at this critical period when the masses are looking toward the future, the intellectual "paradoxically turns toward the past and away from actual events." 8.

Although there might be room for argument on this provocative view, this argument does nothing to substantiate Isaacs' claim that Fanon "wants no part of Négritude." Fanon gives other arguments on the failings of Négritude, (e.g. culture should be primarily national instead of supra-national), but in the final analysis Fanon does no more than point out the contradictions, in a dialectical sense, of much of the ever-changing-multi-interpreted concept (style?) of Négritude.

Other than Isaacs there are other white intellectuals who treat Fanon with more respect, but who seem to be more interested in "Donnybrooks" than decolonization. They say Fanon underrates the degree of cultural continuity which exists between pre-colonial and post-colonial Africa. For example, "All African phenomena -- even dancing -- are to him functions of colonialism."⁹ Fanon does not say -- nor does his position imply -- that dance and possession are products of colonialism: What he does say is that the submerged aggressivity (that muscular motion which the obstacle of colonialism accentuates towards motion, but before the anti-colonial struggle it is generally expended on other colonized, or in the culture of the colonized) of the colonized is (cont. on page 170)

'canalized' in the dance and the possessions. Thus he is not questioning the fact of any survival of the pattern of the traditional life; but he is stating that in this way their 'principles' (that is the attitudes of the participants as opposed to the form and content of the culture) to an important degree have been radically transformed. He later says that the struggle for decolonization does the following to the cultural life of the people: "And the youth of a colonized country, growing up in an atmosphere of shot and fire, may well make a mock of, and does not hesitate to pour scorn upon the zombies of his ancestors, the dead who rise again, and the djinns who rush into your body while you yawn. The native discovers reality and transforms it into the pattern of his customs, into the practice of violence and into his plan for Freedom." (p. 46; emphasis added by kmf)

It is of prime importance to understand that Fanon not only does not underestimate the cultural continuity which exists between pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa, but in fact he exalts the banner of traditional Africa controversially high:

"The peasant who stays put defends his traditions stubbornly, and in a colonized society stands for the disciplined element who interests life in maintaining the social structure." (p. 90)

He goes on to say:

"These men (revolutionaries who have been called from the city...kaf) discover a coherent people (the peasants...kaf) who go on living, as it were statically, but who keep their moral values and their devotion to the nation intact. They discover a people that is generous, ready to sacrifice themselves completely, an impatient people, with a stoney pride." (pp. 101-02)

Fanon (like Sekou Toure) sees much of the peasants' preserved customs as of prime importance in the process of decolonization:

"The memory of the anti-colonial period is very much alive in the villages, where women still croon in their children's ears songs to which the warriors marched when they went out to fight their conquerors. At 12 or 13 years of age the village children know the names of the old men who were in the last rising, and the dress they dream in the 'dours' or in the villages are not those of money or of getting through their exams like the children of the towns, but dresses of identification with some rebel or another, the story still today moves them to tears." (p. 92)

Now I am going to turn to an entirely different aspect of Fanonism: I feel that I should help clear up misunderstandings and destroy deliberate distortions of his views; I also feel obligated to present legitimate excuses for him in light of the fact that he died prematurely, so that many of his virtually posthumous ideas are incomplete; but I will never adulterate him. He himself crystallized many of my preexisting doubts about the "cult of the personality." So now I come to a crucial subject which I feel his ideas (cont. p. 172)

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need elaboration and modification.

Fanon's experience with Afroamericans from the U.S. was largely confined to a small segment of Afroamerican intellectuals: that is the Richard Wrights, the Mercer Cooks (who was reportedly in a state of virtual shock when, at the 1956 Black Writers Conference, Aimé Césaire told him that the Black American lived in a semi-colonial status.) which Fanon came in contact with at the 2 International Black Writers Conferences. These Blacks are, in the main, the protagonists of the 'integrationists' position. That is, broadly speaking, they felt that life's greatest treasure lay in gaining admission into the 'privileged circles' of our white American oppressors; and also they reject the view (or have never seriously considered it) that politically, economically, and historically Black America is part of the 'Third World' -- even though it is a large minority geographically imprisoned inside the 'first world.'

Even with this major handicap Fanon notes that they (the Blacks in North, Central and Latin America) display a need to 'attach themselves to a cultural matrix; and in this sense "Their problem is not fundamentally different from that of the Africans." (p. 174) Now it is apparent that Fanon was reacting to these 'white-negroes' when he perceives the obvious that interracial movements (which try to pass themselves off as Black organizations) which are trying to eliminate racial discrimination have "very little in common, in their principles and objectives, with the heroic fight of the Angolan people against the detestable Portuguese colonialism." (p. 174)

In regards to the latter I believe that Fanon would have reacted in an entirely different manner if he would have had an intellectual rapport with the new intellectual 'Soul Brother' that is now imprisoned in the domestic walls of imperialism yanqui. Roland Snellings poetically points to this difference between the Black Americans Fanon talked with, and the ones Fanon should have talked with:

"They (the Afroamerican youth...) are the products of an epoch of international flux and ferment, and as such, are almost totally estranged from the outlooks, attitudes and loyalties shared by the older generations of Afro-Americans. Being children of change, burned by the fires of change, they reflect and embody the fiery, stormy atmosphere now raging in the world." 11.

So I ask what would have been Fanon's reaction to those Blacks like the late Brother Malcolm X or Donald Freeman who see Afroamerica as an extension of the Third World; who see the exploitation of the Afroamerica as a state of domestic colonialism (that is in this instance, in place of the usual method of an imperialist power establishing a colony in a nonindustrialized society, the U.S. brought Blacks to the U.S. from (cont. p. 173)

Africa with the result of creating a colonial system, comprised of Africans, inside the U.S. 12.); and those who infer from this that Afroamerica in order to become free must be decolonized. We believe his position would have been "pro-Malcolm" because it is his position on decolonization and his description of the problems of the 'Third World' that lend great credence to the latter Afroamerican view.

Is it not ironic that in almost every respect the socio-economic factors that form the basis of the Afroamerican revolt (and often manifestations of resignation) were the basis of some in Fanon's adopted Algeria? When the problem of high crime rates -- that is Black people killing Black people -- (which Fanon beautifully demonstrates is a result of Colonialism) in the Casbah in Algiers is found (with the identical causes) in all Harlems, U.S.A.

The ubiquitous problem of underdeveloped countries being shackled to a useless caricature of a bourgeoisie, which Fanon writes so devastatingly about, is one of the main problems of the liberation movement in Afroamerica. Was it not largely a representation of these 'intermediaries' between U.S. Finance capital and the Afroamerican masses which gave Fanon, at best, a distorted picture of Black America?

The point of the matter is that what Fanon is saying about those Africans, Asians and Latin Americans who 'want nothing more than to be a transmission line for western capitalism' was said about the (white) house niggers' of Black America by E. Franklin Frazier (but in a much less revolutionary context) in his classic Black Bourgeoisie.

Let me take off with Fanon's framework and examine some of the crucial parallels that indicate that Afroamerica is a part of the Bandung world:

In much the same way as 'in the colonized territories, the bourgeois caste draws its strength after independence chiefly from agreements reached with the former colonial power,' (p.142) Civil rights bills and supreme court decisions give power and prestige to the bourgeois-oriented American Negro leadership.



Both of these 'bourgeoisies' were created for the ultimate benefit of the European and his American descendants. It protects 'whitey' (at least he thought so until the Battle of Watts) from the Black masses and from the emergence of revolutionary tendencies in the masses by offering the prospect that they may perhaps share in the economic 'melting pot'.

But this middle class "lacks something essential to a bourgeoisie: money." Thus for them to 'complete' their revolution they obtain money from and depend on those white liberals and leftists who have never accepted (if they accept it logically, they hardly ever accept it emotionally) the possibility that either Afroamerica or the rest of the colonial world can solve its problems apart from the European and American working class; or before the emancipation of white labor.¹³

These white 'progressives' who attempt to tie the anti-colonial struggle of the Black South African to a paternalistic White liberal party and/or a racist white South African working class, or the French Communists who asked the French working class to send 'care' packages to French troops fighting against the Algerian Liberation Movement (F. L. N.), have done little to lessen the exploitative¹⁴ nature of the relationship between the developing world and the European working class movement. This powerlessness -- and many times treasonableness by those who never cease to talk about solidarity of humanity, 'but murder men in all the corners of the globe' -- in attempting to increase solidarity between whites and blacks is also apparent in the abortive attempts of white american leftists and liberals to use their money and the Black Bourgeoisies' dependence on them to force Black people to unite with white workers who are unequivocally unwilling to unite with Blacks (either foreign or domestic).

A cursory examination of nationalist movements in Asia and Africa (along with Latin America these are the areas where "the various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated ... and the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows to imperialism."¹⁵) shows that one of the prime motivating forces of initiating these national movements has been the determination to end this exploitative relationship between white-liberal-leftists and the anti-colonial struggles of the 'Tiers-Monde.' This was true in the case of the Rassemblement Democratique Africain of French speaking Africa which was the political mother of such successful national movements as Toure's PDG and Keita's Union Soudanaise (and sadly Boigny's uncle tom clique in the Ivory Coast). Undoubtedly George Padmore, the West Indian intellectual who influenced the intellectual directions of Nationalist movements in English speaking Africa, broke with the Stalinist Comintern primarily because he felt Moscow was attempting to control those affairs that should be in the hands of Africans. It seems to be one

of the reasons that Ho Chi Minh started the Viet Minh (that is, his departure from the French C. P.). One can also suggest that Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese Communist party became more nationalistic because of its early friction with Russian advisors.

It is of the utmost significance that in both South Africa and the U.S. the Black masses have flocked to the banner of Black nationalism more than they have to any other position; and in both cases the rebellion against white liberal-leftist paternalism was one of the prime stimulating factors of the leadership, if not also the rank and file. In South Africa Clements Kadalie's Garvey-inspired Industrial and Commercial Union¹⁶, and in the U.S. Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association succeeded in obtaining the allegiance (both during the 1920s) of a high percentage of the Black masses, in these respective countries.

With respect to South Africa and the U.S. this identical motivation of anti-white-liberal-leftist paternalism is seen in even more plausible examples: The Blacks in the U.S. and those of South Africa (it is quite relevant that in both of these countries it is a case of domestic colonialism) have increasingly defected from moderate, interracial organizations and been attracted to organizations with a more Black Nationalist, radical orientation which attempts to have these organizations controlled and dependent upon Blacks in their respective countries -- with the corollary of ignoring the white working class and its purported theoreticians.

It seems to me, if I can be permitted the luxury of regressing back to Fanon's book, these examples clearly suggest the validity of his contention that a national consciousness must precede a social consciousness.

So from the framework we have obtained from Fanon we can say that he has given us the tools to see clearly the trend, and the fact that it is historically legitimate, in the best tradition of the Bandung Conference that Afroamerica is more and more struggling to become DECOLONIZED.

"The parallels that we find in Fanon's book The Wretched of the Earth between our struggle and that of our colonized brothers and sisters in other parts of the world illustrate clearly what a people must do to liberate themselves."¹⁷ You are so right brother Larry Neal.....thank you brother frantz fanon: it is you who gave us the lessons on how to shatter our manacles and to make them into razors and swords so that we can carve out a world that will be free of those white european and white american inventions of 'atomic'

'spiritual' and
racial
disintegration.



Imagiz: Shackles Into Swords

Footnotes

1. R. Snellings, "Afro-American Youth and the Bandung World" Liberator, Vol. V, No. 7 (Feb. 1965), 0 p.4.
2. "Homage to Frantz Fanon," Presence Africaine, Vol. 12, p. 130 by Aine Cesaire.
3. Dr. Bertene Juiner, Ibid., p. 139.
4. Cesaire., p. 130 Ibid.,
5. Ibid.,
6. Harold Isaacs, "Portrait of a Revolutionary," Commentary, Vol. 40, No. 1 (July, 1965) pp67-71. also see one of the most chicken-shit articles of the year: George Breitman, "A Review of the Wretched of the Earth", The Militant Nos.33634 .
7. so Francis Jeanson, "Sartre Et Le Monde Noir" Presence Africaine, no.7, p. 189.
8. This argument reminds me of what the Black jazz critic A. B. Spellman asked: "...who are the ofays(whites) who've appointed themselves guardians of last years blues?"
9. Conor Cruise O'Brien, "The Neurosis of Colonialism" The Nation, Vol 200, no. 25

10. Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism, A Short Political Guide, p. 97 New York: Praeger.

11. Snellings, p. 5

12. Another variation of domestic colonialism is when an imperialist power brings or successfully encourages a large number of its nationals to come to a non-industrial part of the world/seize the best land, take over and create a European society adjacent to the indigenous society, while dominating the latter. Examples of this are South Africa, Rhodesia and colonial Algeria. The basic differences between these and the U.S. situation is that the exploited non-European in the former is in the majority, and he still resides in his ancestral homeland. But, sociologically and politically the problems of Afroamerica, and for example coloreds, blacks & Indians in South Africa are virtually identical. But it must be added that the Afroamerican socioeconomic structure is primarily urban and proletarian while even in South Africa the structure is primarily agrarian with a strong emphasis and dependency on migratory labor for the white industrial-urban complex.

But in a definite sense the domestic colonialism found in U.S. and South Africa, Rhodesia etc. are mutually more similar than the relationship between them and other parts of the "Tiers Monde" because: (1) Their problem is not just a colonial problem; it is also, (2) the fact that the oppressor of the colonized people is situated within the same territory and economy that one finds the oppressed colonial group. So their problems are dialectically and complicatedly interrelated.

13. Buchanan, "The Negro Problem" - An Outsiders View, Monthly Review, (September, 1963) Vol. 15, No. 5, p. 238

14. The working class of Europe and U.S. gain primarily from the exploitation of "The Third World" because foreign trade with and capital export to the developing countries make possible the importation of cheap wage goods and enlarge the profits of the capitalist class. These factors allow the white workers to improve their standard of living without arousing, to a significant degree, the animosity of their employers. Black workers, who are twice as unemployed as white workers and whose family income is less than 1/2 that of whites, obviously do not benefit from this blood-sucking cushion. In a similar way a section of the capitalists in the U.S. reap excessively high profits from Black America. Likewise a section of the white working class benefits from U.S. racism, and practically all white workers are convinced that they benefit from U.S. racism, assuming that they would not enjoy workers' control as they enjoy the luxury of white supremacy. In fact, as a result the white American working class is so disinclined to workers solidarity that they have allowed their big labor leaders to become more conservative than big business leaders.

15. Pierre Jaloo, "Third World? Which Third World?" Africa, Latin America, Asia Revolution, Vol. 1 No. 7 (November, 1963)

16. G. Padore, Pan-Africanism or Communism? New York: Roy Publishers, p. 349

17. L. P. Neal, "A Reply to Bayard Rustin: The Internal Revolution", Vol. V, No. 7, Liberator (July, 1965)

* Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, New York: Grove Press

** from Peking Review

*** from Peking Review

67-71.
cf

the

do jesus?

by coral freeman



She was born in 1900, sometime in the month of April, in the cool, early spring of the year, the 5th and last child her mother was to bear. Her entry into the world was heralded by no one, except possibly her mother who had spent 3 days in labor, and who at 49 was drying up inside, withering and enarled like the peach tree in the yard, who for a brief moment had felt the young sap rise deceptively within her and conceived.

They named her Hannah, after slapping her two or three times to bring the breath to her, and her eldest sister who had midwifed her, wiped her down with fresh sun-washed muslin, greased her liberally with tallow, tied on a belly band of linsey wollys, tied her kinky soft hair with a piece of greased string, wrapped her in muslin, laid her in her mother's arms.

Sometime that evening after the birth smell had been aired from the cabin, and the fried meat and greens had been put to the back of the stove, the washing taken in, her father had ambled quietly in to stare quietly at his woman lying sunken and ashy-pale in the lumpy cotton stir mattress and at his 9th girl child. He cleared his throat once or twice, feeling that some words ought to be spoken. "Well." "Yassir," she murmured sadly. "Well ol' woman, quittin' time ain't it?" And she smiled to herself, warmed by the gentle humor of his words. "Reckon tis, suh." "Hacarrumph!" He strenuously cleared his throat once more and went to slop the hogs.

Hannah grew like the willows down by the river bank, quickly pushing upward, tall, strong, bending with the seasons, running wild headlong with the wind, working silently at whatever she had to. The days fell into a (cont. p. 179)

wonderful pattern, simple for a child, easily learned, up before day in the morning, to stoke the fire in the wood stove, eating haccake and sogam syrup, washing it down with strong chicory coffee, chewing the fried meat rinds from her mother's plate, when there was any, pumping water, priming the pump, feeding chickens, slipping hogs, making lye soap, building the fire under the big black three footed wash pot in the yard, scrubbing out clothes, planting cotton on the 5 acres plot in the back yard, hoeing cotton, picking cotton, picking berries, fishing with a willow pole, airing the mattress from her parent's bed, tying junc bugs on strings and running with them to hear the buzzing noise, and running to hide under the house when ever a white man appeared riding down the road.

Life and death were no more a mystery to her than the quick summer showers that rushed down from the sky to damp the earth, settle the dust, and disappear. At nine, one hot dry summer day, her father died, twisting and foaming at the mouth like "blue", the old bird dog. Already he was stiff, tongue hanging out, and beginning to mortify two hours above ground; she had stood, rubbing one dusty foot against the other in curiosity and wonder that her father would carry on in such a way, her mother had run silently to her father to kneel helplessly beside him, and together they pulled him into the shade and Hannah had run to the turn row to get the bucket and dipper to give him a drink of water. But by the time she returned, he was dead and stiffening, and her mother broke years of silence to throw her apron over her head and keen long wailing cries to an earless master. "Lowd, lowd, dean tek him, dean load? pleas jesus, pleas suh maatha, pleas! And Hannah was cowed and ashamed to hear her mother beg, and she waited uneasily to hear what the lord would say or do, staring at the hot cloudless sky, hearing the dry hum of crickets, junc bugs, tree bees, but nothing from the great god., and angrily she frowned at the pale blue sky, and shook a helpless fist at the sun; her mother seeing the gesture, slapped her until there was a ringing in her ears, and the cotton shimmered dizzily. "Gee, god gon strike you ded fuh such outlandishness!" And they stared at each other caught in pain of the moment, unable to speak. "Itua fetch Corrie, tell er tuh brang bill an the younguns." And she turned and ran from the strangeness in her mother, and the silent god that could strike her dead, at his whim.

Running barefoot down the hot dusty road, blind to every thing except what had happened, she did not hear the lazy plop of hooves, or the rumble of the wagon, until rounding a bend in the road she was face to face with a wagonload of whites. Tall and lank in overalls, shirtless, burned red and raw by the sun, the color eaten from hair and eyes, they were, staring unblinking at her. (cont. page 180)

180 freeman

She stood rooted in terror and confusion to the middle of the road; the wagon was filled with thick white cotton and an endless number of white boys, all lank, all skinny, all with the same malevolent lidless white eyes of the blind. The man leaned over the side of the wagon and spat a dark brown stream of pungent tobacco juice at her face, and it dribbled down the side of her cheek onto her neck. Still she stood, staring. "Raf, fetch me a stick, so ah kin whup this nigger." The words rasped mildly from him, as he reached backward for a weapon. Suddenly they were pelting her with hard green cotton bales, big as hickory nuts, hard as rocks, and she skittered off the road, into the ditch, and ran. The wagon creaked up, and lumbered on. The breadth tightened in her chest, and she stumbled over a clod and fell, afraid to rise, in her head was a picture of the man, and the wagon, and he was god, come to take her father, and strike her dead. She lay there some few minutes, and seeing she was not dead, she got up, and walked on to her sister Carrie's house. Inside her was a new something, a something that would walk inside her head as long as she drew breath, a fear and hatred of god and the white man.

This is an excerpt from an untitled novel by the author



the facade of bourgeois democracy

by Donald Freeman

This is an attempt to begin to understand "democracy" in its role as a facade for the western world. "Democracy" came about as a reaction to the upper class (the king, colonial master, and landed aristocracy). It was conceived as an attack on exploitation, a logical step in the war against man's exploitation of other men. It did not come into existence as purely opposition to the absolute authority, it came in order to stop the exploitation by authority. This was the case in the French Revolution, the American Revolution, and also true of the great revolutions which decolonized Latin America. It is so true and so much a factor in revolution that it can be asserted as the rule. This is the proper historical perspective for "democracy"; it was a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie to stop the feudal class exploiter, an attempt to destroy exploitation -- not authoritarianism!

If this is true, then the first step in discovering the fraud has been gained. We are told a thousand times, "We, the 'democrats,' are against the dictators", "We, the 'democrats,' have attained the highest state of government possible." As a consequence "democracy" equals freedom. It's not a stage or step in a struggle -- it is the culmination of that struggle. We are never told of its true origins as a weapon against the upper class exploiter, and that it is only one logical step in that fight.

We constantly hear of its merits; you are led to believe that no one need worry about being cheated or mistreated -- all one need do is participate -- "VOTE", (witness the loud slogans re: the voting 'rites' bill) and the good life is yours. We are also told that from within it can change to any degree necessary.

There are at least two more important facts to help us understand the fraud. One of these seems to be the simple fact that all established orders, including governments, seek to destroy all that threatens them, from within and without. The second important factor to realize is that the individual will still serve the needs of the State or Government -- those needs being determined either by the

true needs of the masses or the needs of a privileged few.

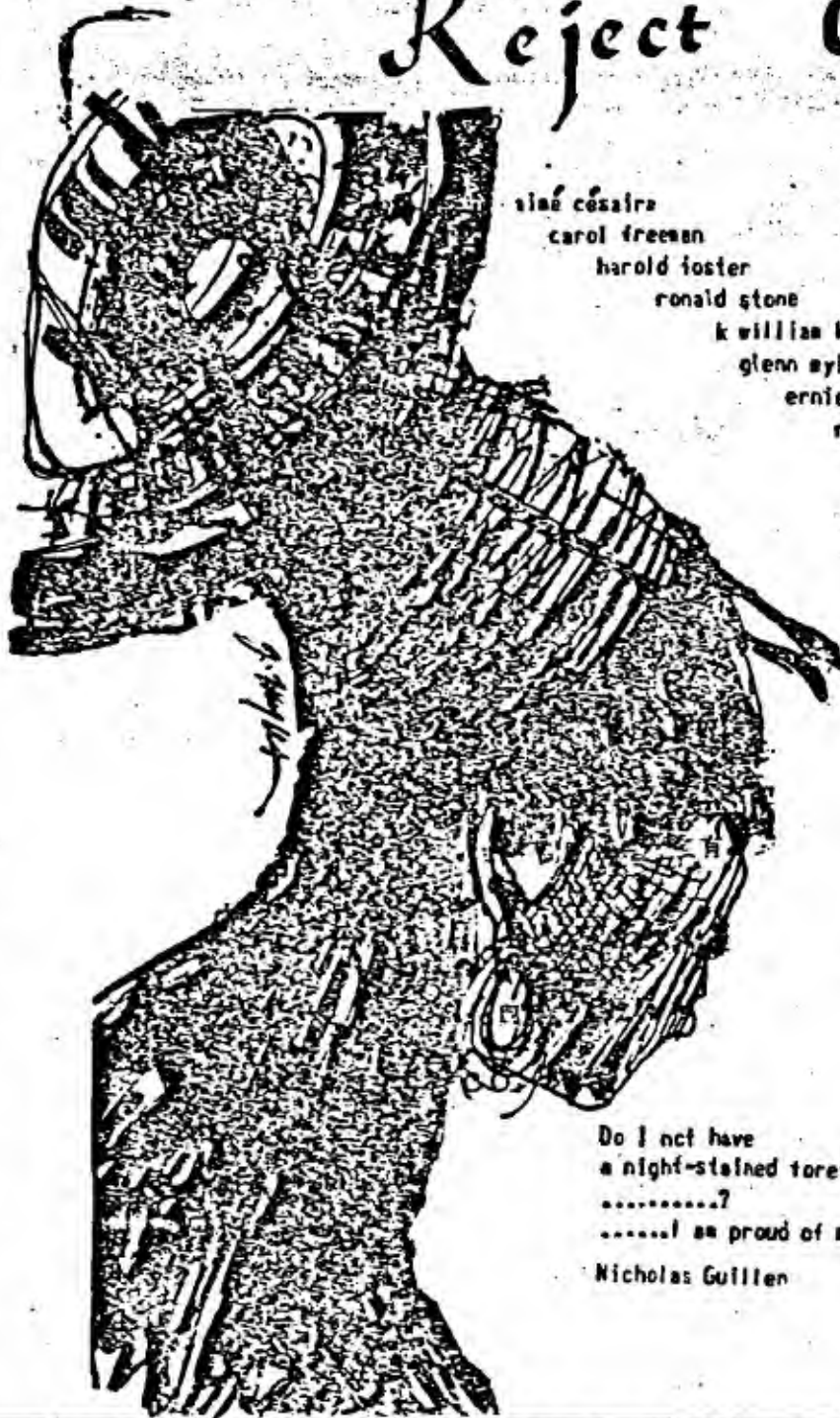
The conclusions to be drawn here is the not-so-very-alarming fact that the word "democracy" as it is used is of no value at all, and that it clouds if not completely distorts the real issues (this is the reason I write "democracy" with quotes). In an honest dialogue one would have to talk in terms of degrees of personal freedom, and the reasons why such freedom is secondary to the needs of the masses; and what are the problems incurred when exploitation is sanctioned as a personal freedom.

It seems to me that the reason for the distortion of the real issue is quite apparent; it is to hide the new exploiter. The old exploiter -- the king, feudal lord, or the colonialist -- has been thrown out, and in his place comes the bourgeois, capitalist exploiter, larger in number and much harder to see. He exploits from behind the shield of "democracy" -- a shield which he used in order to lift the bond of exploitation from his own neck and that which he himself now uses to retain his newly-found privilege of exploiter. One example: Recently James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality made a tour of Mother Africa. While he was giving a speech someone asked him why Blacks in the United States did not unite to win their freedom. Mr. Farmer claimed that Civil Rights organizations were purposely competing against each other to add "variety" to our struggle in the same manner as business corporations "compete" in the "democratic" system. Thus we see how one of the prime needs of the masses of Black Americans, unity, is being thrown to the white wind because our exploiters (and their agents) know the unity of Black America would lessen the degree and time in which our people could be exploited.

Here lies a serious contradiction -- a privileged class using a concept that is supposed to combat such a class. This is why "democracy" has been directed against the "dictator" -- the absolute authority -- and not the exploiter; anyone living in the western world realizes that exploitation is sanctioned and that they themselves are constantly being exploited; what is important is the realization that "democracy" can be surpassed and a new revolution called to rid the world of the new exploiter.

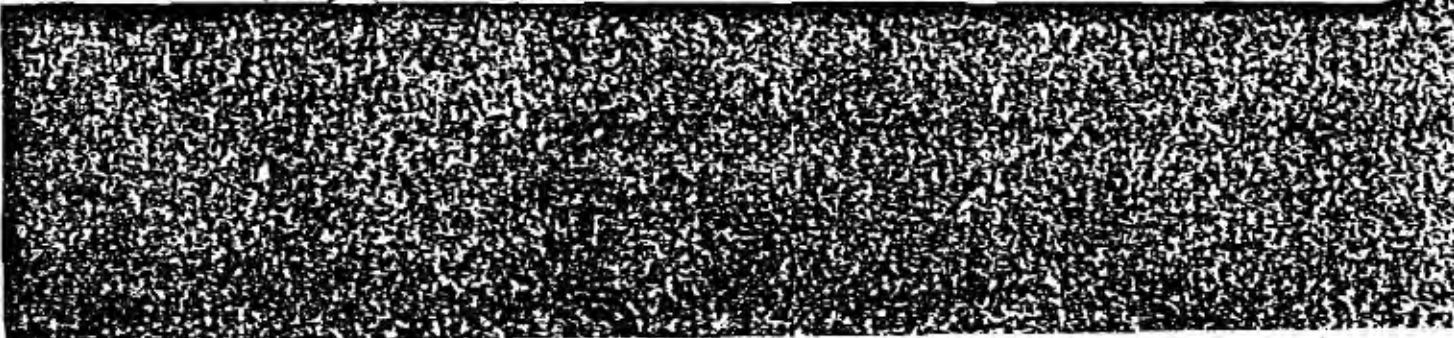
* * * * *

Reject Notes



simé cesaire
 carol freeman
 harold foster
 ronald stone
 k william kocsitsile
 glenn myles
 ernie allen
 rolland snellings
 marvin e. jackson

Do I not have
 a night-stained forefather
?
 as proud of my blood.
 Nicholas Gullien



184 césaire

State of the Union Message

Without laughing, I imagine in Congress this message on
the state of the Union: a tragic situation.

In the substratum we have left only 75 years of iron
50 years of cobalt

But what of 35 years of sulfur and 20 years of bauxite,
what is there in the heart?

Nothing, zero,
mine with ore
cavern where nothing stirs
not a drop of blood

Emmet Till

your eyes were sea shells wheroin sparkled the headiness
of your 15 year old blood.
your young eyes were never old
or rather upon them weighed,
more than could all the sky-scrapers, five centuries of executioners
or witch burners,
five centuries of bad gin of fat cigars
of fleshy paunches filled with slices of rancid bibles
five centuries bitter mouth of hags' sins
they were five centuries old Emmet Till
five centuries is the age without age of the stake of Cain

Emmet Till I say:

"in the heart zero
not a drop of blood"

and as for yours, may it hide the sun from me, may it mingle with
my bread--

---"Boy from Chicago
is it always true that you
are equal to a white?"

He believed so. Even at the edge of night
at the edge of the Mississippi drifting between the high banks of
racial hatred its bars, its barriers, its sepulchral avalanches
he believed. He believed that a negro was equal to a white.

---"Boy from Chicago..."

So much sweeps away the wounded pride of racial vanity
and its cracking of whips
listen to the smooth singing of the bird of the blood
in the blue hedge of the veins
he foresees, mounting in the surprisingly blue field of sky
above the drowsiness of the bluffs

---the step of a mourner, the step of a gleaner---
your stealthy step, O vehement sun

then the night remembered its arm
and Big Millam's heavy pistol
on the living black wall of golden flesh
wrote in rusty letters the sentence and the state of the Union:

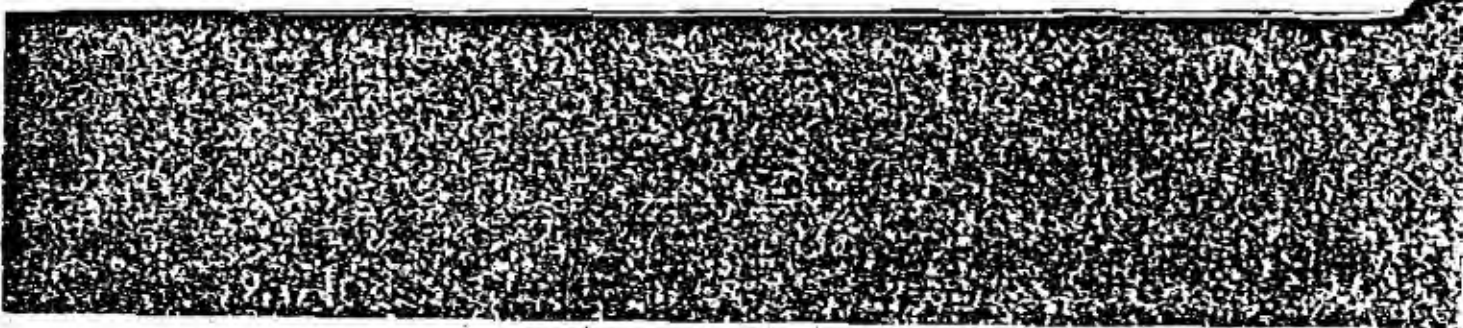
panting humming screeching
boring drilling
the earth says banks bibles bulldozers
the sky says sky-scrappers

I say silence
I say enough
20 years of zinc
20 years of copper
15 years of petroleum

and the 180th year of these states
but in the heart---painless clock
nothing, zero
not a drop of blood
in the brutish sterilized white heart.

translated from the french by SOULBOOK

by alain césaire



Message sur l'Etat de l'Union

Sans rire, j'imagine au Congrès ce message sur l'Etat de l'Union: situation tragique

plus ne nous reste au sous - sol que 75 ans de fer
50 ans de cobalt
mais pour 35 ans de soufre et 20 ans de bauxite,
au coeur quoi ?

Rien, zéro,

mine sans minerais
caverne où rien ne rôde
de sang plus une goutte.

Emmet Till

tes yeux étaient une conque marine où pétillait la bataille de
vin de ton sang de quinze ans.

Eux jeunes n'avaient jamais eu d'âge
ou plutôt sur eux pesaient

plus que tous les gratta-ciel, cinq siècles de tortionnaires
de brûleurs de sacre-êtres,

cinq siècles de mauvais gin de gros cigares
de grasses bedaines remplies de tranches de bobles rancies
cinq siècles bouche amère de péchés de rombières

ils avaient cinq siècles Emmet Till

cinq siècles est l'âge sans âge du piau de Cain

Emmet Till je dis:

"au coeur zéro
de sang pas une goutte"

et pur la tien, qu'il me cache le soleil, qu'à mon pain
il se mêle

--"Garçon de Chicago
c'est-il toujours vrai que tu vaux
autant qu'un blanc?"

Il croyait. Même au bord de la nuit
au bord du Mississippi charriant entre les hautes berges de
la haine raciale ses barreaux, ses barrières, ses tombales
évalanches,

il crut. Il crut qu'un nègre valait un blanc.

-"Garçon de Chicago..."

Autant en emporte le froissement du vent racial et son
 cliquetis de fouets
 lui écoute dans le bleu buisson des veines
 chanter égal l'oiseau du sang
 il devina par-dessus le sommeil des berges
 monter dans le bleu champ surprenant
 -- pas de ploureuse pas de glanouse--
 ton pas furtif soleil véhément
 alors la nuit se souvint de son bras
 et le gros colt de Big Millam
 sur le noir mur vivant de chair aurorale
 en lettres de rouille écrivit la sentence et l'état de l'Union:

halètements vrombissements miaulements
 forements perforements
 la terre dit banques bibles bulldozers
 le ciel dit gratte-ciel

je dis silence
 je dis assez
 20 ans de zinc
 15 ans de cuivre
 15 ans de pétrole

et l'an 180 de ces états
 mais au cœur-indolore horlogerie
 rien, zéro
 de sang pas une goutte
 au carne blanc cœur désinfecté.

(réimprimé de Présence Africaine)

par zicé césaire

BACKWAGES

Here it is Monday:

four weeks from where you signed your mischock
and said that perhaps someday
things'll be better.

I said here it is Monday:

a few steps
inside the twenty yard line
where we were ready for change
but was refused the birth right

That's right, Monday:

the blue day when you have to pay
for joyous weekends on black backs
and black bellies.

I'm still talking about Monday:

the day after your white Sunday
dinner with Teddy Roosevelt
Harryass Truman
Phallic headed Ike.

Yes, Monday:

four weeks after the due day
one day after the day before and
ain't time for going sloe.

Monday:

the final day of white lie
smust be done away with;
wasted
mistakes must be payed for
now.

But first we better kill that guy
who said "I'll pay you on Saturday."

by harold foster

Be careful society !

Dont eat men...

men are your organs' gardenflowers.

Men are roses in lungs
sweetening breath.

Men are lilies in sex organs
to make x + y
reproduce lilies
to remake x + y
for as long as x + y happen.

Men are lotus in brains
exhaling
inhaling
aroma of meditation
creation.

Men are carnations in hearts
blowing love's blood
through body's every part.

Be careful society.....

A garden aint even crummy without flowers

by ronald stone

CARBON COPY WHITEMAN

In the corridors of your mind
fulsomely flattered by Ivy League or Oxford
glib fancy of self-emasculation
would-be brother, how do you plan
to placate the fury
this black light burning bright
scorching everything anti-human, civilising man?

Is your waist-leap conscience
an experimental death,
a fear of Being self,
a slave brain-child of European refugees
thriving in the ghetto of your mind ?
Is enslavement between white sheets a modern ethic
Or simple rose-tinted glasses on your twisted head
up in the crotch of your natural enemy
an obvious concentration camp for imitation whitemen

Check this out
Even the seasons of the year change.
Day yields place to night
The sun is setting on your soul.

by k william kgositsile

notes from great society prison:

dedicated to the Watts War On Poverty

I. Somnambulism

i was once a model prisoner
 drowning in a wretched record groove
 etched to stale vibrations;
 unable to hear for the rankle
 of chains about my ears
 unable to see for the clogging
 of bright neon waxing my retina
 unable to think for the brutal shock
 of cattleprod upon inhuman body
 i was once a nigga

but prison gives you time, bro.
 time

you only have time
 to eat to bleed to pee
 to make coldsteelblack license plates
 to kiss the onerous ass of the eagle
 whose droppings of democracy
 litter the earth
 you have only time
 and sometimes they would take
 cattleprod away and
 confused thoughts would come
 come rushing throbbing
 bobbing to damp forehead
 like broken record like
 a record i
 once heard by max roach (i forgot the name*)
 and i had time to see think of
 things i wanted to forget
 forget white mist surrounding
 confounding mind

192 allen

i was once a prisoner. bro.,
trapped in the vortex of
a black, bottomless mire
which had been
dammed damned destructed
confined contained corrupted
until
the mudanoozanshitan
jesus knows what not erupted and
bubbled to surface in jive
mighty white pressure
cooker each time i
came up what thought last time
gazed through chains air rank searing eyes
glazed with scent of mutilated flesh i
searched searched saw cross off on
off on off on off on awaited mist while 400
years on a neon cross yo mama
hoho and a bag of tricks faith on jesus off...
i wished i could have been one of pavlov's
dogs in a warm laboratory somewhere

II. Delirium

foaming
slobbering nightmare slipped in slithery
eagle shit and saw wooly wall pecked
through tarnished thick asphalt with
feathery vines in brassplate foliage:

Landscaping by
Tricknology Associates
Madison Ave., N. Y. (10001)

none please if sorry I won't challey
 let go please this time no dragged
 through stolenblack powerhouse pushed
 and passed by
 nigganiggas with mustangminds
 relaxing on ebonycouches in
 a wing for model prisoners enjoying
 a more comfortable kind of
 slavery slipped as hunkdunky
 came off the wall
 until
 one fine day the mightymotherfuckerfelland
 not one buckaroo
 knew how to
 put back together again the
 fonkywhite fartifactegg whose
 meaning long ago had cracked and peeled
 away in the vortex
 the jive-time eagle stirreth its nest but it's
 too late, baby, as flickering hourglass glows and
 drips quietly out of time with
 benevolent giftgrains
 of powdered
 paternelpastywhite eagle turds
 in c.a.r.e. packages --
 universal makeup for shitty deals pulled

III. Revelation

through stifling sterile whitewashed
 halls chains on dragging concrete stood
 in line with other risks
 and waited my turn then I saw
 the sloppy beastina
 with the blank white uniform
 with the blank pastyface
 with the blank screech
 next and the shaky bro.
 in front of me suddenly

stopped humming the
blender was humming
stopped bopping the
walk he was bopping
~~the~~
and he dug
deep

down
into his pocket and
brought up his most
cherished possession his
black soul then
i saw a ravel un wrinkle
in the place where her
beak was supposed
to be and i guessed
that it was meant to be
a smile but i was not quite
sure since she had no face only
dry cracks and crevices where
infallible masqufactor could not
stand the mechanical strain
of a frigid grin

IV. Aurora

when i would not give
up my precious soul my
precious black soul
my raw materials
when i would not allow
my only possession to
be expropriated (i
dared to be a man
and to be black simultaneously)
she called the
overseers she called them
bogue house niggas
put me in sol i tary with

other disbelievers but
 (i saw max roach)
 i did not mind this so much as
 i could now fart and sing my funky blues
 and scratch between
 my fingers without
 feeling that i had to please
 anyone but myself and i
 knew that i day we
 would escape this putridity
 would negate its existence
 would rise to claim the aurora;
 my precious soul, which i had carefully saved (praise jesus)
 would become a vital part
 of the burning, black I
 which would help to remake
 reshape
 the world

V. Message

there exists a very fine line
 between standing on the corner
 and falling in the gutter, bro.,
 and each day,
 each one of us stands at least
 momentarily on that corner,
 if only
 to reach the other side.

by ernie allen

*Mendacity

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

negating the measure of unity achieved between the two groups when black Nationalist leader [REDACTED] spoke at the MPIPR youth conference in May, 1965 in Puerto Rico.

The above leaflet would necessarily be prepared in both English and Spanish to properly reach the rank and file membership of both the MPIPR and the black Nationalists, however, the total number of leaflets required would not be large (probably not more than 100) and cost and problems of the measure would be minimal.

In the event the New York Office feels the above suggestion warrants further consideration it should make appropriate recommendations to the Bureau.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Handwritten initials

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 12/14/65

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353-Sub 1)(P)

~~SECRET~~

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: SJ)

ReSJlet, 9/30/65, and Buairtel, 10/5/65.
105-93124-151 *105-93124-157*

The Spanish language leaflet proposed in relet and authorized in reairtel was mailed under secure conditions at Bayamon, Rio Piedras and Caguas, PR.

Reaction to the leaflet had a positive counterintelligence effect on the operations of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR), as follows:

P.R.

② - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Juan

EJH:mar
(3)

53 JAN 5 1966

DEC 51 15 20 6H REC-19
105-93124-160X
DEC 16 1965

6698 223
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite
2-28-75

~~SECRET~~
SUB CONTROL

~~SECRET~~

the leaflet exceeded expectations, as shown below:

First.

[REDACTED]

Second

[REDACTED]

Third.

The universal reaction in the various missions was concern that confidential mailing lists were in the hands of a security agency. Suspicion was voiced that there was a traitor at National Headquarters.

[REDACTED]

It also offers some interesting possibilities for the future counterintelligence ploys of the San Juan Office. D

Fourth.

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

SJ 105-3353-Sub 1

~~SECRET~~



In a summary it is felt that the operation was very successful in its aims and that further damage may yet be caused the independence-seeking groups here.

Any further results will be reported.

~~SECRET~~

SAC, New York (105-32872)

12/9/65

REC-4

Director of FBI (105-93124) 160

1 - [REDACTED]

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
(COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
INTERNAL SECURITY - PRN
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL)

Reurairtel dated 11/30/65.

In the article by [REDACTED] entitled "The Puerto Rican Revolution," which appears in "Soulbook," Volume I, Number 3, has been reviewed at the Bureau. This article is written with fabrications and distortions and is highly critical of the United States Government and the government of Puerto Rico; while at the same time, it praises deeds of the Puerto Rican Nationalists and martyrizes Pedro Albizu Campos, deceased, former Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico leader.

While the basic idea in referenced airtel to discredit [REDACTED] and certain Puerto Rican revolutionary leaders has merit, it is felt the furtherance of pro-nationalist sympathies, which might result from the distribution of this extremely anti-United States article, in its entirety outweighs the advantages which might be gained from possibly discrediting [REDACTED] and the other Puerto Rican nationalist leaders referred to in referenced airtel. It is not believed that we should be in the position, even in a small way, of taking any action which might tend to advance the stature of Puerto Rican nationalists.

Perhaps if the data showing [REDACTED]'s fabricated figures concerning dope addiction and prostitution in both New York and Puerto Rico among Puerto Ricans were extracted from the article and included in a mimeographed letter to be sent to selected Puerto Rican nationalists, the desired results could be achieved without furthering pro-nationalist sympathies.

2 - San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)

WHF:baf (6)

DEC 10 8 44 AM '65

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 15 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

COMM-FBI

105-93124

Letter to SAC, New York
Re: Groups Seeking Independence For Puerto Rico
(Counterintelligence Program)
105-93124

San Juan is requested to review the article by [redacted] referred to in referenced airtel and furnish observations and recommendations to the Bureau and New York relative to possible use of excerpts from the article in connection with the counterintelligence program. Thereafter, New York should further evaluate this matter in line with the above suggestions and comments of San Juan and resubmit its recommendations.

Pending results of the above, no action is being taken at the Bureau to print copies of the article as suggested on page four of referenced airtel. San Juan should likewise take no action at this time relative to the request in the last paragraph on page four of referenced airtel.

FBI

Date: 11/30/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Handwritten initials and date:
12/1

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-32872) (P)
SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
(COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION
IS-PRN

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of "Soulbook", Volume I, Number 3. Enclosed for San Juan is one copy of "Soulbook", Volume I, Number 3, and one copy of an eight page mailing list.

On 11/1/65, [redacted] advised that members of the Executive Board of the Mision Vito Marcantonio (New York Mission) (NYM) of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI) were highly displeased with NYM member [redacted] for an article written by him entitled, "The Puerto Rican Revolution", which appears in "Soulbook", Volume I, Number 3, a self-described Journal of "revolutionary afro-americana" published in Berkeley, California. The prime reasons for this displeasure are the obvious distortion and exaggeration of the statistics appearing in the article concerning the percentages of prostitution and dope addiction in New York City and Puerto Rico among Puerto Ricans and the fact that the article was not approved by MPI leadership prior to its release. To date, the Executive Board of the NYM has attempted to keep the statistics in the article hidden from the rank and file membership of the NYM.

EX-107

REC-4 105-93124-160

- 3-Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3-San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1-New York (105-32872)

Handwritten notes:
2/1
10/165
C. Wick
605

RJH:eac
(8)

18 DEC 1 1965

Handwritten signature:
[Signature]

1- ENCL. ATTACHED
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

NY 105-32872

The NYO proposes that Spanish language copies of this article be mailed to approximately 200 Puerto Rican civic and social organizations in the Boroughs of New York City and to the approximately 300 MPI members and sympathizers in Puerto Rico and the US, whose identities and addresses are available to the San Juan Office through the MPI mailing list. It is believed that this technique will result in criticism and the possible expulsion of [redacted] an extremely active, militant member of the NYM, and cause considerable embarrassment to and criticism of MPI leadership in Puerto Rico and NY.

The article will be accompanied by a Spanish language cover letter stating as follows:

"Dear Friend,

"The attached article, which appears in its entirety, is the product of [redacted] member of our Mission Vito Marcantonio, which has its New York headquarters at the Casa Puerto Rico, 106 East 14th Street, and 336 East 13th Street, New York City. This article appears in 'Soulbook' Volume I, Number 3, the 'quarterly journal of revolutionary afro-american', which is published in Berkeley, California and distributed on a world-wide basis.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

"After you have read this article, please ask yourself the following questions.

"1) Is it 'mass hysteria' for our people to better themselves? Is it 'mass hysteria' that our people have the highest literacy rate in Latin America?

"2) Where has Mr. [redacted] obtained his statistics concerning prostitution and opoe addiction among our people? Perhaps they were obtained from the personal experience of a convicted narcotics addict or the propaganda

NY 105-32872

mills of the communist, Fidel Castro. Gauging from Mr. [redacted]'s usage of Spanish, he has never been outside the Bronx. We note the ineptness of Mr. [redacted] historical knowledge, as an example the misspelling of our beloved patriot's name as Eugene de Ostos.

"3) We resent the implication of Mr. [redacted] black nationalist allies in the editor's statement that most of our people are Negro as was our martyred leader, Pedro Albizu Campos. We are proud of our Spanish heritage and culture. Although Negroes are welcome in our movement and may seek refuge in our nation; let it not be said that the majority of boricua are Negro.

"4) Is Mr. [redacted] typical of our young 'intelligencia' of which our leadership is so proud and which it would bring with it into the government of our nation, when we free ourselves from the 'Yankee Imperialists'?

"5) If Mr. [redacted] is not typical --- then what kind of impotent leadership exists in the MPI, that would permit this slander of our people and our nation?

"6) What did our organization hope to accomplish with this article? Improve the image of Puerto Rico and our people? We doubt it. One thing can be said with certainty, and that is; this article is an affront to every Puerto Rican man and especially our women and another step backward for our movement.

"We the disenchanteds of the MPI, urge our fellow members to refute our senile and degenerate leaders, who have allowed this 'literary catastrophe' to be published."

In addition, the NYO suggests, if this technique is approved, that the following steps be taken:

1) The San Juan Office translate the Editor's introduction contained on page 208 of "Soulbook" and furnish this translation to the Bureau.

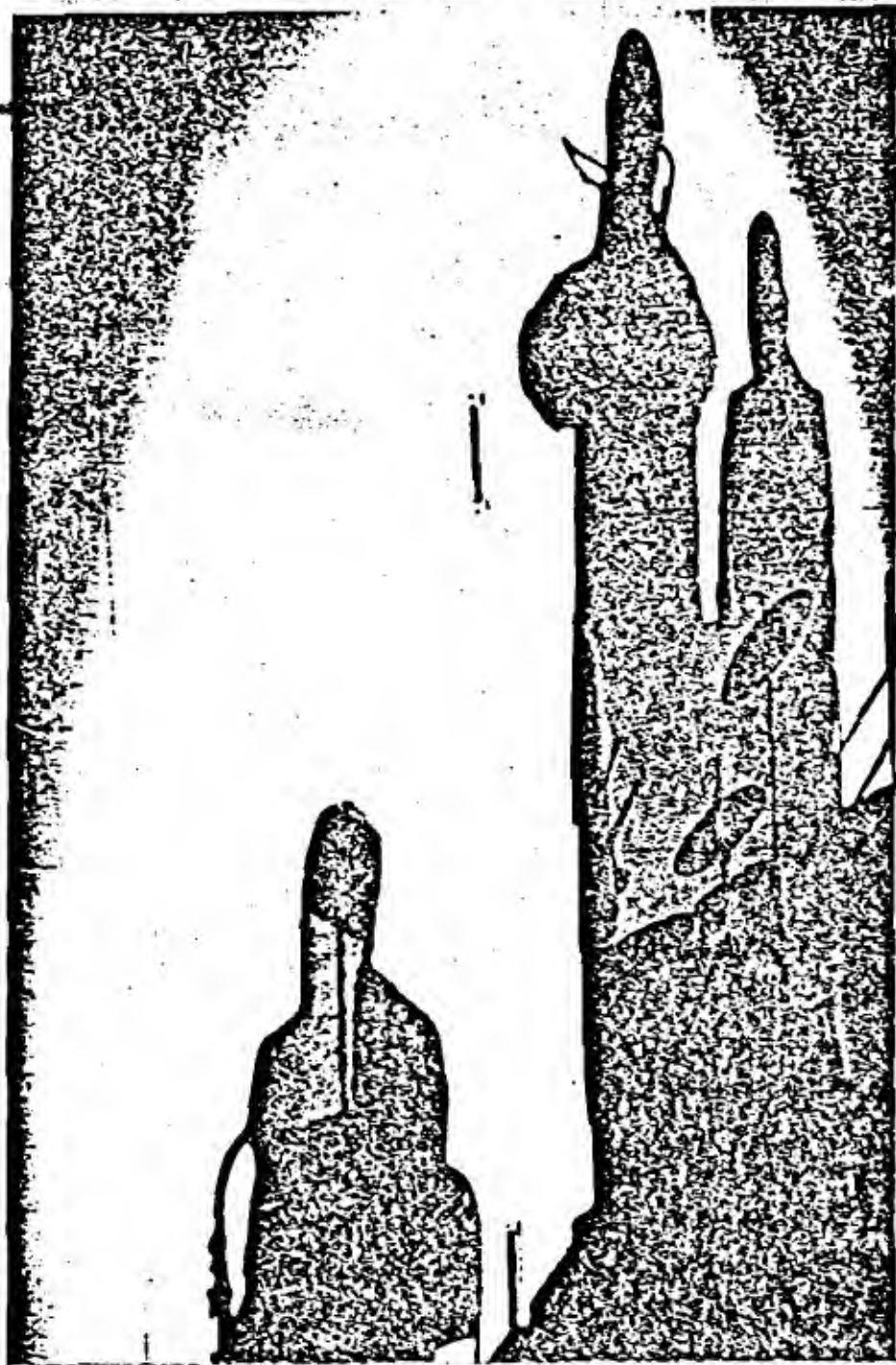
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2) The Bureau will then print 600 copies of the Spanish language article as it appears on pages 214, 215, 216, 217, 218 and 219, excluding art work on the bottom of page 219. The Spanish language translation of the Editor's introduction furnished by San Juan should appear as the first paragraph following the title. Upon completion this printed matter will be sent to SJ.

3) The SJO will prepare a Spanish language translation of the cover letter and then utilizing proven counterintelligence techniques available to them, mail the cover letter and the reprint of the article to names contained on its MPI mailing list and organizations making up the list furnished by the NYO.

SOULBOOK

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THAT'S
WATTS"
HAPPENIN' !



by bob hamilton

Those black men who talk about "Saving America" by making it live up to its dream -- and these are not the black bourgeoisie con-trast of which I speak, but the well-intentioned black radicals -- remind me of a naive woman who might plead to the ravening rapist to allow her to dress the wounds and scratches he acquired in his attack on her -- not realizing that her assailant will only catch his breath in order to be more thorough in fucking her.

White America is waging a "no holds barred" war against the blacks in this country and against colored people all over the world! It is, at least, foolish to concern oneself about the welfare of someone who has his foot on your throat. After 400 years I should think that at least the more aware and articulate black men would see that the "American Dream" is the blackman's Nightmare! Time has run out for Black preachers and black pietists! The battles being fought in America are not economic ones, not against poverty; America is engaged in the early stages of a blatant race war. Those Black leftists who still nurture that intellectually expensive illusion of "black and white unity" against some economic bugbear (capitalism) need only look honestly at America's clandestine ally in this struggle, The Soviet Union. The Russians are as 'white' as any Mississippi peck-erwood vis-a-vis the "yellow peril," Red China! The white man in America, and Europe too for that matter, has become so acclimatized to bullying and oppressing and terrorizing non-whites, and to the acquiescence and, much too often, the collaboration of those he tyrannizes, that he is genuinely shocked, bewildered, and even hurt when he is told, "stop I've had enough." He was shocked by the long hot Summer of 1964, by Springfield, Chicago, and Los Angeles of 1965.

"Punks," said Boy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Certain People -- unimaginatively. . . . like a cracked record. "We deplore. . . ."
 "said Farmer Jim of the Congress on Ritual Equality, not too long returned from his mission as "official nigger to Africa to undo Malcolm's work." "With all force necessary!" said Kingfish Martin -- at least he was the most consistent, for he had reassured "chuck" that his position was that any blood to be shed in the pursuit of "The American Dream", would be ours!

The Governor of California, the Mayor and the Chief of Police of Los Angeles screamed, "Where are the responsible Negro Leaders?" They were there and here whitey -- you were just too hysterical to hear and see them! The U. S. News and World Report, the liberal N. Y. Post, The Times, the white press and nauseum attributed the revolt in Los Angeles to criminals and thugs! These are the presses who eulogize the Boston Tea Party, the French Underground, and the slave uprisings sparked by Spartacus in Rome!

* * *

The blacks in Los Angeles, California were not irresponsible: They were tired of white bull-shit. The black bourgeoisie were silent because they had been so "busy" being "responsible" to white folks that they, by definition, could not be responsible to blacks -- they've never been before: possibly amidst the so-called chaos a quiet voice told them they were black too; possibly and very likely they "knew better" than to speak out on the side of "whitey" our non leaders were "safe" and "secure" on the East Coast and in the South. My only regret is that so many blacks were killed, but it has always been that way. Hiasn't it? But there are now forces growing by leaps and bounds in the psyche of us, the black masses; they are: Nat Turner, Cinque, Marcus Garvey, Robert Williams, Malcolm X, and the Deacons! Keep on pushing!

Burn, Baby, Burn

Tired.
Sick an Tired,
Tired of being
Sick an tired.

Lost.
Lost in the
wilderness
Of white america.
Are the masses asses?

Cool.
Said the master to the slave,
"No problem. Don't rob an steal,
I'll be your drivin wheel."

Cool.
And he wheeled us into
350 years of black madness,
To hog guts, conked hair, covadis,
To bleaching cream and uncle thomas,
To WATTS,
To the straits,
To the KILL.

BOMMMM..... 2 honkeys gone.
MOTHER FUCK the police!
And parker's sister, too.

BLACK PEOPLE:
Tired,
Sick an tired,
Tired of being
Sick an tired --

Burn, baby, burn.....
Don't leave dem boss rags,
C'mon, child, don't mind da
tags.

Git all dat motherfuckin pluck,
Git dem guns too, we 'on't give
a fuck!

Burn, baby, burn,
Cook outta sight --

Fineburgs,
Whitefront,
Wineburgs,
Blackfront --

Burn, baby, burn,

In time

He
will learn.

by
earvin jackson

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africa, china & the u.s.

by cheikh-anta diop

(translated from the french by SOURCER)

Although Cheikh-anta Diop is not well known in Afroamerica, he is more than any living Black intellectual the most matter-substantive developed approaches to, and theories of Black history. Brother Diop has a theory that there is a basic division of peoples into 2 kinds: the Southerners (or Negro-Africans), and the Aryans. Each grouping has a cultural outlook based on response to climate, the difference between them being that Aryans have had a harsher climate.

According to Diop the Aryans have developed patriarchal systems characterized by the suppression of women and a tendency toward individualism, materialism and pessimism. The Southerners, on the other hand, he sees as possessing a matriarchal system. The women are much freer, the social system is collectivist and optimistic in its orientation towards life.

As for the historical basis of this view Diop has argued, with a considerable amount of evidence, that ancient Egypt was not only a Black African civilization, but that also European civilization is a mere derivative of that great society. In a word, his writings on this subject are at least outrageously provocative, and at the most blatantly revolutionary.

We do not give this background to Brother Diop's orientation in order to endorse his views; on the contrary, we have reservations about some of his conclusions, and his emphasis on climate as a determinant of history, but we do know that his historical findings vis-a-vis pharaonic Egypt and its relationship to Africa and Europe have immense credence. The main reason we have summarized his theories is to point out his excellent intellectual and pro-Black credentials so that we can show why we feel Brother Diop is eminently qualified to explain many of the relationships between the Peoples Republic of China, the emerging African nations, and that great guardian of the color line, the United States of America.

-- The Editors --

China, in exploding two Uranium 235 bombs, has just proved that she is capable of having access to thermonuclear power by her own means. Several years are necessary, perhaps less than ten, in order for her to constitute an operational arsenal. Also, China of today is comparable to the U. S. S. R. of 1926 to 1938; she needs to build her economy, to consolidate her political regime, and also her technical capabilities. In these undertakings she must shun war at any price in order to gain precious years so that she may acquire the invulnerability of nuclear powers.

China will go to war only in the case of her own defense. The territory of China is sufficiently vast in order to permit virtually the doubling of her present population (actual density is approximately 80 per square kilometers) and of feeding it without having need of pruning the lands of a neighbor. Therefore the true danger isn't in seeing the Chinese reen-acting the invasion of the Huns and over-running a Europe which is only a "peninsula of Asia." Rather, it resides in the fact that, in the end, the well-being, higher creative knowledge, technical efficiency, power, and the ability to make demands will no longer be the monopoly of the west.

ELIMINATING THE AMBIGUITIES

The United States is fully conscious of this situation. It seems to feel that the safe-guarding of both their supremacy and that of the west in general necessitates a preventive war against China; even their press no longer makes a mystery of this position. However, the U. S. can only act with impunity if it succeeds in momentarily isolating China from the rest of the Socialist Camp. The unspeakable American provocations in Vietnam register within this perspective. (cont. p. 156)



The West is not alone. Premier Chen in Paris, Vietnam

(They can lead to war if the U. S. estimates, rightly or wrongly, that the solidarity of the Socialist Camp would fail China, that China wouldn't benefit from the atomic umbrella and from the air cover of the U. S. S. R.) The war would then spring from a lack of clarity in the positions originally taken.

Today, ~~as~~ in the time of the Korean War, peace is gained in eliminating ambiguities in time. Also, one would like to believe that firm resolutions, which contrast with appearances, have already been taken at the level of discreet diplomacy not leaving to hover in the air any doubts as to the solidarity of the Socialist Camp in the case of a U. S. attack on China under any pretext whatsoever. It is with the aerial protection of the U. S. S. R. that China was able to aid North Korea, and why she would be able to aid Vietnam today. This important condition which could, alone, render effective China's aid to Vietnam, depends entirely upon the U. S. S. R.; and the reasons for China's present procrastination are perfectly understood. The presence of Sibylline warnings could be fatal to peace.

AGAINST PREVENTIVE WAR

In the case where all this would proceed with cold calculation and against all expectation, the results would be catastrophic for humanity. They would go beyond the limits of classical Machiavellianism to take on the dimensions of a bankruptcy of man in his attempt to exceed his ethnic category in order to become reconciled with other men and to create a veritable humanity. No lucid being should hope to make the best of a similar situation. The consequences that the people who are suffering and who are fighting for their emancipation would draw from it would be irremediable and dreadful. China's technological power is a guarantee of peace and of development because she throws out of tune the old game of the balance of power. World peace will be better assured if a country of the Third World¹ is able to become a center of high intellectual development, of technical power, and of the ability to return tit for tat. This will be a guarantee against possible acts of despotism, of cowardice or of racist genocide; this introduces an advantageous disparity in the distribution of forces on the planet --- this is the grain of sand which makes the imperialist machine grate.

It is too often forgotten that modern science is not yet sufficiently implanted in the Third World, and that, for the development of our future plans to be greatly compromised, an abrupt darkening of international relations (which is always possible) would be sufficient. Understanding, of more or less brief duration, between western thermonuclear powers in order to impose a limitation and a minor management on the technical development of the Third World is probable, if there does not exist outside the west a force capable of opposing it if necessary. This

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is what is understood by these so-called powers every time they evoke the problem of dissemination of atomic weapons.

The interest and security of the Third World demands that all the means of development, of domination and demand should no longer be the monopoly of the west.

In acting today for the preservation of China, to prevent the destruction of Chinese power still in limbo, the Third World has only to work lucidly towards the consolidation of its security.

In reality, the voice of the unanimous Third World would weigh with an enormous moral heaviness on the decisions of the only two nuclear powers on which the result of the situation depends.

In the particular case of the U.S.S.R., its strength, which is today able to safeguard peace and to serve the development of peoples, was equally menaced with destruction by imperialism when she was in gestation.

All the working peoples, without distinction of color, were then allied in order to hatch it, to protect it from October, 1917 to 1939; longshoremen of every country boycotted the preventive war against the U.S.S.R.; seamen mutinied in order to bring about a triumph of its cause, a cause identified with that of the world revolution. More recently, some scientists, by pure ideological conviction, incurred national indignity and prison in order to permit it (the U.S.S.R.) to have access to nuclear and thermonuclear power: Green Glass, Klaus Fuchs, Pontecorvo, etc. On the Ivory Coast, some blacks from the forest dressed in loin-cloths marked X's on some ends of bamboo without too much realizing what they did, it is true; nevertheless, this was their means of signing the Stockholm Appeal destined to assure peace, to forestall a premature war against the U.S.S.R. when its nuclear force was not yet assured.



ACTIVE SOLIDARITY

A state which was born and developed in such a moral climate should be available without equivocation, every time the peace of people is menaced.

A crusade resembling the "peace movement" when the U.S.S.R. had a real need for it, should be newly and immediately launched by the states of the Third World in a show of solidarity with China.

Since the end of WWII the U.S. has been leaving its traditional isolationism, has passed from one extreme to the other, and is now defending its "security" on the

shores of each continent, even to the heart of the untrodden forest in the Congo.



A DEFUNCT INDEPENDENCE

It should be stated that any Black African state is already no longer independent (if independence has ever been effective) for no one would know how to alter his political regime without "uncle sam" becoming suspicious and paying him a visit. The U.S. is anxious to keep Africa in the Western camp, within its own sphere of influence, to speak more clearly. One shouldn't be able to "keep" an independent country.

The short period of euphoria and of easy terms following the declarations of independence, during which in order to obtain everything all you had to do was hold out your hand is completely ended everywhere.

For want of being organized in time on more viable unitarian political foundations, but implying more personal sacrifices, today only the period of "tears" which is at hand remains. Certain countries deceive themselves in trying to organize their individual safety. However, the only security possible in the actual situation of Black Africa is a collective one. Prospects for the future are gloomy.

Imperialism intends to organize anarchy over all the African Continent in a manner which will keep the political initiative that it has already regained, which had been taken away from it by liberation movements on the eve of the independence of these states.

Herein lies a new fact of capital importance, on which it is essential that the attention of Africans polarizes itself.

It is the plague that we have always denounced. Alas! Black Africa strongly risks receiving it as its lot. It is the spectre of South Americanization which haunts it with its cortege of unhappiness and misery.

One still remembers the stirring declarations of Quadros revealing that he was pushed by obscure forces when he was forced to abandon his authority in Brazil.

The U.S. made it clear to him, he said, that an underdeveloped country wasn't able to allow itself to have an independent diplomacy. This should be entrusted to an "appropriate power".

The occurrences in Santo Domingo are of such a nature as to edify even the most indifferent.

In the long run, no amount of "goodness", "realism", or "moderation", would know how to shelter one from this new form of insecurity. Nkrumah is made to sing today, tomorrow it is everyone who will dance like a cicada.²

One takes touching precautions to give imperialism the understanding that it will be very well to adapt itself to our socialism, for they are not malignant. Their inventors simply wanted to be fashionable in the domain of political expression; thus African Socialism is often a synonym for inoffensive socialism. Soon, as in the manner of the birth of philosophy, each African will walk with his socialist doctrine under his arm.

A CREATION OF HELL

However, one tries in vain to prove to the Americans that there is a difference between a devil whose tail burns like a torch and one whose tail only smokes, because for them, all socialism is a creation of hell, which as such should return there, if necessary with the help of atomic bombs. Forgive our illusions.

Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Tanzania, and Congo(B) to different degrees are already menaced by imperialism, which does not desire that any political experiment whatsoever, conducted independently of it, might be conclusive, might be able, for that reason, to inspire in other countries inclinations towards independence. Thus, as a demon which torments dwarfs, it amuses itself in undoing the laborious work of the elves with a disconcerting facility.

The personality of General De Gaulle hinders the direct taking in hand of this part of Black Africa by the United States. Meanwhile, the U.S. is devoting itself to a systematic study, to a slicing up of the terrain in a manner of a checkerboard, and to an economic penetration as silent as it is efficacious. Their business groups control the administrative councils of former companies with French names: F.A.O., NOSOCO, SCOA, etc. As a beginning, they have just gotten control of 49% of the shares of the former Bank of West Africa which has now become the International Bank of West Africa.

PRETORIA ORGANIZES

On the other hand, the white minority of South Africa would be able to take the black continent from the rear. The British protectorates, enclaves of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland, are easy prey. The seizure of Southwest Africa is complete, and outside the periodic speeches at the U. N. no one thinks about forcing Pretoria's hand. The white minority of Southern Rhodesia, which (cont. p. 150)

practices the same politics, will draw nearer to her at the opportune moment. The national liberation movements of Angola and of Mozambique seem to be halted or at least stabilized, that is to say, smothered for an unpredictable duration. This has only been possible with the complicity of imperialism. One should keep a close eye on the development of the situation in these two territories.

Congo(L) constitutes an ideal buffer state which would even be able to completely fall within the orbit of South Africa with the consent of the U.S., despite the actual appearances. And the counter-offensive to the independence movement doesn't stop there. England can explode the Federation of Nigeria whenever she may feel like it; other forms of interference are possible. The reduction of Black Africa to a few small semi-deserted states, engulfed in an endemic anarchy, is not impossible. While there is still time, it would be impossible to overly attract the attention of Africans concerning the preparations of war and the underground forces of South Africa.

The first reactor of this country (South Africa) already branched off several years ago; since that time, other more powerful reactors have probably been constructed in greatest secrecy so as to fabricate and stockpile plutonium in a quantity sufficient for undertaking the construction of tactical atomic bombs. Today, South Africa is sufficiently equipped in technical matters to fabricate bombs of plutonium which will detonate by implosion. 4.

However that may be, the case of Vietnam proves that, the moment at hand, the United States would easily find a pretext in order to provide, if necessary, tactical atomic bombs and others to the white minority. It is known that such devices are already stock-piled at Da-Nang base in South Vietnam, ready for utilization.

The physical separation of the communities that is being realized within the framework of apartheid would render possible a perfect genocide.

Today South Africa is feverishly organizing in order to resist, on the military level, the whole black continent.

It is hoped that the danger will be perceived in time. And it is there that the existence of a center of power outside the west, in the Third World, would permit a victorious offsetting of an eventual duplicity. South Africa constitutes for Black Africa the most serious danger on the road leading to an era of universal understanding!

Before this precise menace, as before the problems of constructing a rational economy and organizing a viable common market, Africans, isolated, are reduced to ineffectiveness. One would like to bring together the egoistic individual advantages of political separation and the collective advantages of a political federation of Africa. Surely this is the square of the circle. One begins (cont. p. 161)

to realize that egoism vis-à-vis Africa, skillfully set up in a doctrine of "wisdom," doesn't lead very far.

One understands in an obscure manner that at the end the new forms of insecurity spare no one: witness Goulart, Olympio, Maga, and Toulon.

THE DEFEAT OF BOLIVAR

We are entering into an era of humanity and humiliation. We will leave it only by the adoption of a political situation of a federal nature. One should think about the consequences of Bolivar's defeat with respect to Latin America.

It is certain that the interests of the people are hardly opposed to a similar solution. On the contrary, all invite Dahomians, Senegalese, Ivoiriens, Guinéens, Maliens, etc. to unite their abilities and powers in order to multiply their capacity to oppose anarchy and foreign domination.

An African political structure, in which an effort of rational economic construction would be able to be undertaken, does not yet exist. Its creation depends only upon Africans. When one attempts to consider economic regroupings outside of political domain, this difficulty is only a transposed illusion. A federal executive is necessary, however embryonic he may be, whom will be transferred a minimum of authority, permitting him, for example, to decide upon regional specialization, after a thorough study; then Senegal's vocation for a chemical industry would be able to be confirmed; it would be the same for the inclination to the heavy-metal and light alloy industry of the Guinea-Liberia ensemble; and that of the Ivory Coast for the industry of wood and its derivatives.

TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ONE'S OWN FATE

The organization of an African common market will consist then of studying the volume and outflow of the complementary products thus fabricated. A rational economic organization wouldn't know how to take precedent over the placing in operation of a valid formula of political unification.



One should note with astonishment that it is not known how to conserve the political experience of the colonial epoch on the plan of unifying diverse territories: the former federations of West Africa and of Equatorial Africa, of (page 162 cont.)

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which the viability had been proved, are broken up in consequence of egocentric discord.

The originality of African political difficulties resides in the fact that one is obliged to realize by peaceful means that which in history is always accomplished by war and violence, when it is a question of political or cultural unification.

In the absence of a preliminary political solution, each African state will try to become an industrial micro-universe in order to be self-sufficient, all in being obligated to opt for installations of weak power and small capacity.

The groups devoid of power of decision, imposed upon everyone, which would not imply a partial and parallel abandonment of sovereignty, will always be shortlived. The African political experience during these last years leaves us without any illusions as to this point of view, even for the Organization of African unity.

But all of that will not have been sorrow lost if it is at this price, and at this price only, that the African masses take cognizance of the fact that their fate lies in their own hands and not elsewhere, and that it is very necessary that they decide to assume responsibility for it.

footnotes

1. The Third World is that group of nations that have a common background of oppression and have the common objective of eliminating that oppression.
2. a cicada is an insect which is noted for the prolonged shrill notes of the male, produced by special sound organs.
3. Pretoria is the capital of the Republic of South Africa.
4. Without becoming overly technical it may be stated that basically there exist two ways of obtaining fission material for the construction of atomic bombs; one method, utilizing Plutonium 239, is probably the most widely used by nuclear powers because of the relatively less intricate instrumentation needed for production of this material; The use of Uranium 235 as fissionable material is at the heart of the other method, and has only been produced in the west at considerable cost (because of the necessity of refined processes in which over a thousand interlocking units, all functioning perfectly, have been necessary for this production). The advantages in having facilities to produce U235 means that the ability to produce tritium, a key element in the production of the H-bomb, is also near at hand.

(footnotes by SOULBOOK -)

*traduit de Jeune Afrique par SOULBOOK

ISE snellings
BANDUNG WAR POEM

(for Adlai Stevenson and Martin Luther King, Jr.)

"People" say:

that war is wrong; violence
never solved a thing.

"People" say:

that to great hatred with hatred
is an evil thing. "People" say
they "dread" the Sword, and yet
blood flows throughout the earth
- a mighty river pregnant with
spring flood-rain; while suave
in hallowed Halls of Gold, bland-voiced

"People" say:

"He who lives by the sword..."

Why persecute the Sword? It is
an arm of man, it helps him work out
his destiny upon the Human Stage.

See it flash! Blue steel dripping
crimson gore; catching the light of
the Eastern Sun as it passes through
the West: grasp the Sword
within your work-scarred hands. It is your tool
to make the world anew. Your dignity.

Never mind what "People" say:

We will bury hypocrites!

when we build the world anew with the Sword.

by rolland snellings

The Goose

Like a goose who never flew, but does now —
 I started through the Carthage hay of rising
 Boys all down the turning fields where deep-down
 Some graces must start.

I flew a "Black Man's Solo" against the naked walls
 Far up towards the zenith before I flickered in the
 Light and dove with a tired roar to rout these unchanging
 Stars --- so lonely in life, and so
 Close to death.

by glenn myles

feral spring cat
 footed
 flits around the cor
 ner and
 black legs flailing i
 followonly
 to find a d i s t a n t
 shape in the trees a thinning sound in the wind and
 that I've grown older and
 slower and far away
 spring
 is

by carol freeman

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partners in white racism

by K. Willie Kestelle

If you are born in America with a black skin, you're in prison..." so said Brother Malcolm. The same condition applies to a Black man born in South Africa. The only difference between these two members of the white Christian unholy alliance is that the whites who rule South Africa are less hypocritical than the trigger-happy European refugees who usurped the rule of America from the aborigines they massacred.

The settling of Dutch criminals in South Africa in 1652 was heraldic of the African's present nightmare. These criminals started stealing people's cattle and sheep along the sea coast and when the people demanded their property back, they killed them. When the English learned how easily they could get supplies at the Cape of Good Hope (can you imagine that -- Good Hope?) on their way to plunder Asia, they joined with the Dutch in order to share the loot. They're still sharing it today -- with the addition of the rest of Europe. Today, for the preservation of white western Christian civilization, the whites in South Africa have deprived the Africans of every human right conceivable. In a country where the only human values are white, an African's life matters only in relation to how much he can sweat in the mines, plantations, and industries to make sure that the "great whiteman boss" enjoys his life thoroughly. In his own country the African cannot vote; he cannot choose where he wants to work (and to be super-exploited), he cannot choose what school to send his children -- if you want to call those fascist indoctrination institutions schools. The list of the everyday humiliations that comprise the African's life in South Africa is endless.

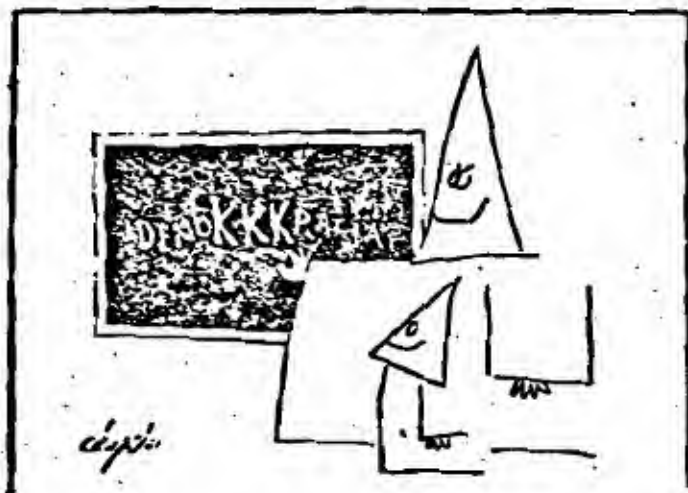
However, since Africans outnumber whites four to one, it is very doubtful whether the whites in South Africa could have managed to retain their position if they had not had allies and collaborators. One of white South (cont.)

200 kgositsile

Africa's leading criminal partners is the "democratic" United States of America.

I said that the United States was more hypocritical than South Africa; whereas South Africa did not sign the United Nations' Human Rights Declaration, the United States did. Can anybody show me any evidence that white America is interested in human rights? The only evidence of what these willful, adolescent fascist-maniacs are really interested in is their sadistic massacre of millions of people from the time they first landed in this country. Even today while liberal United States government spokesmen make glib, sugared speeches, their paid henchmen murder millions of people all over the world and even get medals for doing it. But since I am talking about South Africa, what is the role of the United States in Verwoerd's Nazi-oriented, white western Christian apartheid machinery? There are over 160 American companies in South Africa with an investment of over a half-billion dollars exploiting cheap black labor, netting more profits than they could ever have dreamed of making anywhere else in the world. They take advantage of this because they know that in South Africa, Africans are prohibited by law from organizing unions, bargaining collectively, or striking. A South African Information Service release on March, 1962, clarified America's position in South Africa through a statement by U. S. businessman

Marcus D. Banghart, vice president of Newmont Mining Corporation, the United States company with the largest investment in South Africa: "We know the people and the Government and we back our conviction with our reputation and our dollars." Does this bigoted bastard really think he knows me and millions of my brothers in South Africa? Does he really think we do not know America's reputation in Africa, South America, Southeast Asia and in the United States, (cont. p. 201)



"Democracy": The main subject taught in American and South African schools. (from Bohemia)

where through her blood-dripping dollars millions of people have lost their lives simply because they want to rid themselves of the hideous atrocities of white imperialism? As if through her investments, trade and even small businesses America did not feel she would help white South Africa enough to maintain apartheid through capitalist super-exploitation of Africans, she used to sell them arms and ammunition to kill us. She stopped only when she was alarmed by the protests of freedom-loving nations at the United Nations. However, America continued to supply her criminal partner with equally strategic commodities like oil. And of course South Africa has been America's intimate partner against humanity for a long time. In the Korean War South African murderers fought side by side with American murderers and won 427 American medals.

America's policy in South Africa is not surprising in view of her treatment of Black people in this country. I do not care how many get the U.S. State Department spokesmen tell in connection with democracy. I do not care how many times they put on television White House films their atrocious actions in the southern states and the north show us how oppressive white America really is.

I know what I am talking about. I am black. I was born and raised in South Africa where even the house I lived in, the schools I went to, the type of education I could get, the places I could visit even as a small innocent boy, were determined and dictated by the interests of this white, western, Christian monster. I have lived in America, citadel of western corruption, where material values are more important than human values.

It was out of this country(America) that Robert Williams was forced to flee for safety because he was man enough to be determined to meet white imperialist violence with black defensive violence. Yes, it was in this capital of white western congenital chicanery that Brother Malcolm was assassinated because he was man enough to tell the truth. Yes, it was in this Christian country that four innocent Black girls were charred to death while they tried to worship a Christian god. It is in this "democratic" country that hundreds of Black people get killed by white racist maniacs for demanding their inalienable rights.

Black teenagers are constantly victimized and sadistically flogged in American cells as their soul brothers are in South African ones. I knew a lot of such victims in Johannesburg, South Africa, and I know quite a few in Harlem. Hardened criminals are often used by prison authorities to perpetrate (cont. p. 202)



JAILED—Two leading South African Nationalists, Nelson Mandela (left) and Walter Sisulu, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for "sabotage," on Robben Island.

perverted acts in South Africa, the guilty sit in judgement over the innocent in infernal institutions hypocritically known as courts of law. Who does not know of Black people being lynched, Black women being raped and Black men being castrated both physically and mentally by these upholders and defenders of western Christian civilization in America as their brothers are in South Africa? Even the American university, as the South African one, is an institution to train and mass-produce a certain type of white-washed idiot that could be trademarked **MANUFACTURED IN RACIST USA** or **MANUFACTURED IN RACIST SOUTH AFRICA**, depending on what side of the Atlantic you get your miseducation. But the white world cannot get all of us. Even the Roman Empire fell. And like I said in a poem: -

" . . . all I learned at your schools was what not to be. . .
 Charlie, don't you know you're living on borrowed time ?"

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The Crisis Of Negro Reformism & The Growth Of Nationalism

by Harry Haywood

Brother Harry Haywood is the author of the classical Marxist interpretation of Black Nationalism, Negro Liberation (International Publishers, 1948). The following work is a chapter from his unpublished book, Inwards A Revolutionary Program for Negro Freedom, which he wrote in collaboration with Gwendolyn Widie. In the latter manuscript Brother Haywood combines his perennial fine tools of theory & research with new soulful applications that, in our opinion, makes it immeasurably more relevant than his erstwhile treatise. -- the editors --

The present -day Negro movement is characterized by the crisis of Negro reformism and the growth of Black nationalism. There are three main factors feeding this development:

1) The world-wide anti-colonialist upsurge; 2) The effects of growing economic crisis among the basic masses of Negroes; 3) Erosion of the myth of imminent, peaceful democratic integration.

THE ANTI-COLONIALIST UPSURGE

The international crisis of the imperialist system has had a profound impact upon U.S. Negroes. The world system of imperialism, with the United States as its leading force and arbitrator, is in retreat, fighting a rearguard battle to maintain and shore up the fragmented status quo already eroded beyond repair by the thrust of ascending socialism and victorious colonial revolution. The colonial system, the main prop of what is euphemistically called, "The Free World," is in an advanced stage of disintegration. White supremacy and its ideological rationale, the spurious doctrine of racial inferiority, is collapsing before the forward surge of the new sovereign nations of Africa and Asia and the heroic struggles of the peoples of Latin America.

The strength of the Negro Liberation Movement, its growing momentum and impact, lies in the fact that it is the counterpart of this anti-colonial revolution which is shaking the world. Its particular significance lies in the fact that it is a revolt against what amounts to semi-colonial oppression in the heart of the world's leading imperialist country. Columnist Joseph Alsop (cont. p.204)

is close to the mark when he characterized the "Negro protest" as a "neo-colonial revolution," and comments that "this process more and more resembles the end of a colonial period."¹

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

Aside from the tremendous impact of the colonial revolution, we must take into account the internal social and economic factors powering the present Negro movement: the relative and absolute economic deterioration of the status of the Negro people resulting from frequent recessions combined with the inroads of automation which have hit the Negro masses disproportionately. Thus, the Negro worker is caught in the job crisis with the percentage of unemployed more than double that of the whites. The widening gap between Negroes and whites in U. S. society can be summarized with a few significant statistics:

The median Negro family income is 45% below the median white family income. Moreover, in 1952, this gap was "only" 43% which shows the direction in which things are going.²

Negro unemployment is two and a half times white unemployment. Among youth this gap is even wider. At least one-half of all youth out of school between 16 and 21 are Negroes, although they constitute only 15% of the population of that age group.

Long-range trends indicate a worsening of the situation. Loren Miller says: "The gap in white-Negro unemployment rates has increased since 1957 and unemployment spells tend to last longer among Negro workers than among whites. Nonwhite workers who represented 11% of the labor force and 22% of the unemployed accounted for 26% of the long-term unemployed -- which means that many of them are permanently jobless."³

Seventy-five percent of Negro workers are in unskilled, semi-skilled and service jobs, while the figure for white workers is 39%.

The average Negro born today has a life expectancy nearly ten years below that of the average white. In the South the gap is even greater.

One-sixth of all Negro homes today are designated by government surveys as "substandard", as compared to 3% for whites.



In Southern agriculture, the absolute decline in Negro sharecropping has taken place against the background of the decline in farm employment generally, which is the most drastic change since the end of (cont. p. 205)

World War II. There is a shrinkage of Negro farm ownership, which is proceeding at a rate twice as fast as that of whites. And, at the other end of the pole, there is a greater concentration of Negro farmers at the lowest rungs of agricultural ladder. There is a great acceleration of the concentration of agriculture into large farms and plantations, and the growth of absentee ownership. While, on the other hand, the mechanization hailed by the "liberal" gradualists as a cure-all for the South's problems is not accessible to the poor farmer, and blocks access to the land by the masses of tenants and sharecroppers. At the same time, the displacement of basic soil tillers has been accelerated by the Federal Government's crop reduction program, the sharp edge of which has been directed against the poor farmer. While the big planters are continuing to expand their production, the small, family-sized farms bear the main part, if not the full cost, of acreage cut-backs. This situation has operated to increase the traditional disadvantage of the Negro soil tiller in every respect.³

These facts clearly show that the dominant economic trends in U.S. society are not towards imminent, direct integration of the Negro people into the existing social structure. On the contrary, the trends are towards strait-jacketing the Negro people into lower, frozen caste throughout the country which, in the words of one author, is "faced with more uncompromising segregation and larger slums."⁴

The institutionalization of Negro oppression is documented by Michael Harrington in his angry study of poverty in the United States, "The Other America." He reveals the structural basis for the continuation of Jim Crowism. Harrington points out that the Negro is an internal migrant who will face racism wherever he goes, who cannot leave oppression behind "as if it were a tsar or a potato famine. The present position of the Negro in the American economy has been institutionalized and unless something is done it will reproduce itself for years to come. The crisis is hitting precisely at those areas where gains in integrated work were made in the past two decades, in the semi-skilled jobs of mass production industries. And given the racial character of the American economy, this is a particularly severe blow to the Negro. It amounts to rebuilding the wall of prejudice, to destroying the advances which already have been made."⁵

The ever-growing economic problems of the basic masses of Negroes is a powerful source of discontent which is already bordering a strident disaffection and disillusionment with the American Dream.

EROSION OF THE MYTH OF IMMINENT, PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION

The struggle for Negro rights has reached an impasse. The myth of imminent, peaceful, democratic integration under the benevolent wing of the Federal Government is collapsing. The present struggle for freedom, far from being an onward and upward march from victory to victory, is threatened with serious losses and setbacks.

Reformism, from the most conservative NAACP leaders and white liberals, to the so-called socialists, including the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States, made fundamentally false assumptions about the Negro question. They have all spread illusions which have contributed to the perpetuation of Negro oppression and at this point are disarming the Negro struggle in the face of the growing ultra-right danger. They have underestimated the ruthless determination of the Southern Oligarchy to maintain its traditional domination over Southern political life and its exaggerated prestige and influence in the Federal Government and in the Democratic party. They have operated on the naive assumption that the Southern Oligarchy would allow the Negro people in the South to gradually win enough rights to vote them out of office. They assumed that the Executive branch of the Federal Government would back up the Negro struggle in the South. They encouraged dependency upon the Federal Government.

Their basic mistake has been to underestimate the ruthlessness and power of the Southern Oligarchy, and to exaggerate the depth of the contradictions between the Federal Government and the Southern Oligarch states. It is true that the national administration of the post-war period have been pursuing a policy of making token concessions to the Negro people, mainly to improve the image of the United States abroad and to pacify the movement at home. But the dixie-crats know very well, and base their entire strategy on the knowledge, that foreign policy considerations become minor when it comes to the question of internal order. They have political power and refuse to give it up piecemeal. And the Federal Government will ultimately concede to them as long as they hold, and use, the blackmail threat of creating civil disorder, and the Negro movement stays within the framework of passive resistance.

The only way the Negro movement can free itself from the vise which is tightening around it is through independent, revolutionary struggle. This simple fact lies at the root of the crisis of Negro reformism. The Negro movement cannot advance further on the old basis, and in fact, it is faced with reversals and defeats without a revolutionary reorientation. Given the (cont. p. 207)

control of the state apparatus in the Deep South by the Oligarchy, which they will give up voluntarily, and the growing tendency towards appeasement within the Federal Government, especially marked as an aftermath of the assassination of J. F. Kennedy, the only effective weapon Negroes have at this point is to pose their own threat to internal stability.

The clock cannot be turned back. The old methods have proven bankrupt. A revolutionary reorientation is the only alternative to despair, passivity, and escapism.

footnotes

1. As quoted in The National Guardian, 6/6/63.
2. Loren Miller, "Prosperity Through Equality," The Nation, 9/1/63
3. Ibid.,
4. Victor Perlo, "The Negro In Southern Agriculture"
5. Michael Harrington, The Other America, p. 79.

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The Puerto Rican REVOLUTION

by Alfredo Pena of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico

After the assassination of Brother Malcolm X, solidarity was expressed with his followers, and particularly with his widow and children, from many diverse quarters. Nevertheless, many of us were pleasantly surprised when the youth of The Movement For Independence of Puerto Rico had James Shabazz, Secretary of the late El Hajji Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X) speak last May at their fourth National Conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Thus SCALBOOK decided to reciprocate this expression of solidarity and to let as many Black people as possible acquaint themselves with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people -- who are predominantly colored -- for independence. In order to implement this commitment we have published this article by Brother Alfredo Pena in both Spanish and English. --the editors--

The Puerto Rican revolution began when the American imperialist forces landed on our beaches in 1898. In the last five years the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico has attempted to arouse the interests of the masses on the island and in New York, so as to unite and organize the proletariat to the call of national liberation.

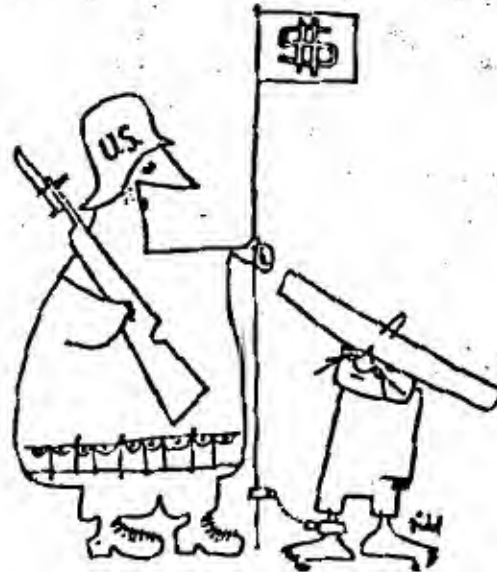
The revolution of Puerto Rico is imminent, but revolutions fail without the support of the masses. The peasants, the workers, the unemployed and the students must rally under the banner of independence in order that the struggle can rise into a dynamic and powerful force.

The American government has succeeded in indoctrinating our people and driving them into mass hysteria. Even a murmur of change or an inkling of independence is stifled by reactionary innuendos. The educational system, controlled by the Americans, has extracted Puerto Rican culture and history from its curriculum. Students learn more about the United States than they do their own island. The American business interests own more land, property, (cont. page 209)

industry than the Puerto Rican people; for example, the beaches on the island are owned by luxurious American hotels, where the tourists can bathe for free, but the Puerto Rican is forced to pay a minimum price to enter the beach.

Since 1898, American imperialists have sucked billions of dollars out of Puerto Rico in fruits, ore, oil, and sugar and have manipulated and exploited the Puerto Rican people for a profit motive. As the governor and the legislature of Puerto Rico, they serve only as instruments of the power structure of the United States, defending the upper layers of the Puerto Rican middle class while profiting from their own bureaucracy.

The term "commonwealth" which the United States has applied to Puerto Rico is a sovereign state. The lack of Puerto Rico's own president, government, economic, political, and social systems expose such a lie. Even the complete definition of "commonwealth" doesn't necessarily mean a free nation.



In relation to Puerto Rico the costliest crime of the American government is that it has erased from the Puerto Rican's mind that he is a part of a Latin American heritage. Under the American Government's system the Puerto Rican has discarded the traditions and customs of his history. He has journeyed through a gradual transition from one society to another. The transition is controlled by the machines of indoctrination of the American government. Such a channeled money has diluted our people's morals: 40% of our youth in New York have embraced drug addiction, 31% in Puerto Rico; 26% of our women have entered the trade of prostitution in New York, 33% in Puerto Rico. Even the air in Puerto Rico has become polluted. In 1954 the United States began to build nuclear laboratories and have proceeded in testing various nuclear weapons off our shores. Experiments within the laboratories have been performed on Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners.

With the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the personality and character

of a liberated Puerto Rico was crystallizing. But on July 25, the invasion of American troops smothered all hopes for independence and freedom. Betances, one of the Puerto Rican revolutionary leaders, was summoned to France prior to the invasion to sign the peace treaty. On the eve of the attack on Puerto Rico a cry of reprisal from Paris rang out throughout the world: "We neither want to be colonized by Spain, nor by the United States. I'm surprised my people have not risen."

Eugenio de Ostos was travelling in the United States when news reached him that American troops had crushed Puerto Rican Independence with an invasion: "the sacrifices will be many . . . but the independence of our island will grow."

Before the invasion, 91% of the land belonged to the Puerto Rican farmers. Tobacco and sugar made up 66% of the production; by 1900 this production was owned and controlled by American capitalists. The Americans owned the rest of the land and controlled the diminutive agricultural reforms. The inter-commerce of the island remained in the hands of the Spanish upper class. The already established Puerto Rican bourgeoisie was secondary in its exploitation of the proletariat in comparison to the Americans.

Coffee had superseded sugar as a main source of income for the capitalists and by late 1900, 80% of the coffee crop was owned by the American government. Workers and peasants were being paid 50% lower than they had received under the Spanish regime. Meat and rice became the luxurious commodities under the retail and production of the American business interests.

In 1901 the United States created an educational system where English would become the official language-- so began the eradication of Puerto Rico's culture from the minds of her youth.

In 1916, Jose de Diego, a famous lawyer for the Catholic Church, began to fill a paper of historical and economical facts exposing the criminal exploitation of not only Puerto Rico's resources, but also her people.

In 1917 with the coming of the imperialist war, the United States declared Puerto Rico an official colony; by doing so she was able to send young Puerto Rican men into the war and at the same time deprive the island of a revolutionary force.

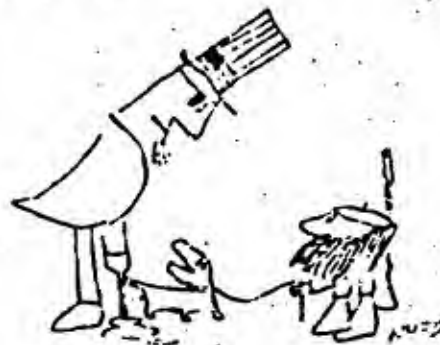
In 1920 the young and premature struggle for independence of Puerto Rico found a political arm in the creation of the Nationalist Party. At its early stages it based itself on the criticism of American imperialism and in the sporadic sales of literature. In 1924 a new epoch was born in Puerto Rico and a new page of history was waiting to be filled. Wandering into the Nationalist Party was a young, brown skinned law graduate from Harvard, his name Pedro Albizu Campos, a name that the universal struggles of national liberation will (cont. p. 211)

forever embrace. Pedro Albizu returned to the island in 1924 in the wake of his harassment by the American military because of his color. After his enrollment into the Nationalist Party, Albizu Campos was elected vice-president of the party. In 1926 he was appointed as a representative of the party to travel to various Latin American countries to acquaint himself with the independence and revolutionary movements in those countries. It didn't take long for Pedro Albizu to learn that it was his impregnable will that aroused the millions on the island to the call of liberation; it was his voice which echoed in every village and in every city that shook the fetters of the masses; it was his revolutionary ferocity that turned the whole established social order of the bourgeois-colonialist upside down. The son of a peasant couple in Ponce (a city in Puerto Rico -- Editors' note) was to become the pride and glory of "La Boricua."

In 1932, under the leadership of Dr. Campos, the Nationalist Party entered the electoral campaigns with Albizu as candidate for Senator at large. Before election night the pro-American newspapers began an anti-nationalist campaign, flooding the island with accusations against Pedro Albizu. Their propaganda wasn't enough, the election was then rigged, and Pedro Albizu lost, yet in his defeat to the candidates of the multi-millionaires he scored 12,000 votes.

On the eve of Pedro's loss, the depression that had started in the mid-twenties (capitalism hinders its foreign possessions before it applies economic misery to its own working class) began to dilute the foundations of the bourgeoisie. Below it the lower classes were already decaying, compelling the peasants to move from the countryside into the city and later to migrate into New York.

In 1933 the social forces of the proletariat began to bellow their dissatisfaction towards the island's ruling class in demonstration after demonstration. One of these demonstrations was directed by Albizu against the American monopoly, Porto Rico Railway, Light and Power Co., in which the workers' strike had the last word. In 1934 he directed various campaigns against the plantation owners and landlords by leading strikes of sugar cane cutters. Imperialism was beginning to decay in the mist of its own depression. The degeneration and perversion of the masses by the mechanics of the ruling class produced multiple offsprings of contradiction and brought on revolution as the order of the day. When Colonel Francis J. Riggs, Chief of Police and personal bodyguard of Governor Winship (cont. p. 212



offered Pedro Albizu \$150,000 to withdraw his campaigns, Pedro refused; from then on he became a political danger to the monstrous business interests on the island.

On Oct. 24, 1935, four members of the Nationalist Party were murdered by the police on orders from Col. Riggs. The members were part of a demonstration protesting a bourgeois, pro-imperialist student assembly. In December of 1935, 25,000 members of the Nationalist Party composed a petition demanding the resignation of Col. Riggs and the withdrawal of American business interests and military troops from the island.

On March 4, 1936, in a gun battle with three youth members of the Nationalist Party, Col. Riggs was shot and killed. Later the police arrested Elias Beuchamp, one of the freedom fighters involved in the incident, and his companion Hiram Rosado. Following the arrest Elias and Hiram were both tortured and killed inside the police station.

On March 4, 1936, on the campus of Puerto Rico University, Pedro Albizu was arrested in an attempt to recruit fellow countrymen into the Nationalist Army. A consensus taken by the students preceding his arrest showed that Albizu's followers had gathered more than 250 volunteers in a matter of hours. Following his arrest Dr. Campos was charged with instigating the gun battle in which Riggs was killed. In July of 1936 the American Civil Liberties Union sent a committee to defend Pedro. That same month in the congress of the United States, a representative from New York, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, defended Albizu's rights and the struggle for liberation in Puerto Rico. Countering the defensive pleas was Dr. Ernest Gruening (now the 'liberal' Senator from Alaska) who was the Director of the Reconstruction Project Committee of Puerto Rico and Commissioner of Divisions of Territories and Island Possessions. Gruening denounced the independence movement in Puerto Rico and branded Pedro as a danger to the American Government.

With the pro-imperialist newsmen on the island condemning Albizu, and with the conviction of guilt supported by the colossal of the American State Department the all-American businessmen jury convicted Pedro. The American judge sentenced him to Atlanta Penitentiary for seven years. Throughout the trial not one Puerto Rican was able to enter the courtroom.

The independence movement had grown from a premature infant into a revolutionary arm of the masses, a ubiquitous force channeled through the halls of national liberation, shattering the pillars of human exploitation, thundering into the quarters of the bourgeois intuition, uprooting its deteriorating surface. By 1937 the Nationalist Party had already been constructed into a mobilized order of (cont. p213)

of thousands. It had not only attracted the unemployed, the workers and the peasants, but students, teachers, and university professors. Realizing the political potentiality of such a dynamic force, Governor Winship, with the aid of various Puerto Rican bureaucrats, had secretly ordered a massacre in the city of Ponce. In a parade of Nationalist Youth Cadets and Nationalist nurses the Ponce police and American troops under the leadership of Col. Orbeta, brother-in-law of Dioniso Trigo and Franco's fascist representative in Puerto Rico, massacred from fifty to seventy men, women, and children, wounding 150. On an empty street in Ponce, a bleeding revolutionary stumbled to the sidewalk and wrote in his own blood:

"Viva la Republica!
Abajo los Asesinos!"

Of the troops and policemen that had killed Puerto Rican children on that bloody day, not one came to justice. Col. Orbeta who had directed the slaughter continued to be a colonel and Chief of Police. Governor Winship who had ordered the pogrom remained the "great white father" of Puerto Rico.

With the outbreak of World War II the revolution in Puerto Rico came to an interruption, but the infamous day in Ponce was molded in the pages of history, an obstacle of shame on the minds of liberals and a reminder of revenge for the Puerto Rican that lived that day.

The second and concluding part of this article will appear in SOULBOOK 4

"In spite of the loud and pompous declarations about equal rights contained in all the constitutions of the Latin American Republics it is, however, a fact that in the economic, social and political practice of these countries the Negroes do not enjoy these constitutional rights. The Latin American bourgeois ideologists lie when they say that all men are equal; lie when they try to prove that there is no economic and racial discrimination against Negroes in Latin America.

There is hardly any country of Latin America where the Negro toiling population does not consider itself humiliated and insulted on the economic and social practices of the white ruling class."

George Padmore, The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers (p.61) London, 1931.

la revolución puertorriqueña

por Alfredo Peña Ed. Movimiento
Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico

(traducción española por SOULBOOK)

La Revolución Puertorriqueña comenzó cuando las fuerzas imperialistas norteamericanas desembarcaron sobre nuestras playas en 1898.

Durante los cinco años pasados El Movimiento Pro-Independencia De Puerto Rico ha tratado de despertar la atención de la plebe sobre La Isla y en Nueva York, a fin de unir y organizar el proletariado a la Hazaña de la liberación nacional.

La revolución puertorriqueña es inminente pero revoluciones faltan sin el sostén de la plebe. Los campesinos, los trabajadores, los desocupados y los estudiantes tienen que reanimarse bajo de la bandera de la independencia a fin de que la lucha pueda ascender adentro una fuerza poderosa y dinámica.

El gobierno americano ha sucedido en adoctrinar nuestra gente y hacerla entrar por fuerza histerismo. Aun el murmullo de mudanza o una insinuación de independencia es suprimido por insinuaciones reaccionarias. El sistema educadora controlado por los norteamericanos ha extraído la cultura y historia puertorriqueña de sus cursos de estudios. Estudiantes aprenden más sobre Los Estados Unidos que aprenden de su propia isla. Los intereses de comercios y ganquís poseen más tierra, propiedad e industrias que la gente puertorriqueña, por ejemplo las playas en La Isla es poseído por los hoteles lujosos Americanos donde los turistas pueden bañarse por gratis además los puertorriqueños tienen que pagar un precio mínimo para entrar a la playa.

Desde 1898 los imperialistas norteamericanos han sacado billones de dolares de Puerto Rico en Frutas, Azúcar, óleo y mineral; han manipulado a la gente puertorriqueña por un motivo de beneficio. En cuanto, al Gobernador y a la legislatura de Puerto Rico, sirven solamente como instrumentos de "estructura de poder" de Los Estados Unidos, defender las capas superiores de la burguesía puertorriqueña cuando aprovechar de su propia burocracia.

El término "Commonwealth" que Los Estados Unidos ha aplicado a Puerto Rico es una farsa. Los norteamericanos lo han usado para ilustrar al

mundo que Puerto Rico es un estado soberano.

Porque le faltan a Puerto Rico su propio presidente, gobierno y sistemas económicas, sociales, y políticas es expuesta esta mentira. Aun la definición de "Commonwealth" no necesariamente significa una nación libre.

Con relación a Puerto Rico el crimen más costoso del Gobierno norteamericano es que ha borrado desde la mente del puertorriqueño que él es una parte de la herencia latino-americana. Abajo el sistema del gobierno Yanqui el puertorriqueño ha descartado las tradiciones y los costumbres de su historia. El ha viajado por un tránsito al cultivo desde una sociedad a otro. La transición es controlado por las maquinas de instrucción del gobierno norteamericano. Tal jornada acanalada ha deshecho la moralidad de nuestra gente: 40% de nuestra juventud en Nueva York ha tomado las habitas drogas, y 31% en Puerto Rico; 26% de nuestras mujeres se han convertidos prostitutas en Nueva York, 33% en Puerto Rico. Aun el aire en Puerto Rico ha hecho contaminado. En 1954 Los Estados Unidos comenzaron a construir laboratorios nucleares y han sido adelante experimentar varias armas nucleares cerca de nuestras costas. Experimentos adentro los laboratorios han sido ejecutados sobre presos Nacionalistas puertorriqueños.

Con el fin de la guerra Español-Americano en 1898 la personalidad y el carácter de un Puerto Rico liberado estuvieron cristalizandose. Pero en 25 de Julio la invasión de tropas americanas ahogaron todas las esperanzas puertorriqueñas para la independencia y la libertad. Betances, uno de los líderes puertorriqueños revolucionarios fue citado a Francia antes la invasión para firmar el tratado de Paz. En la víspera del ataque sobre Puerto Rico un grito de reprisilla desde todo afuera por el mundo: "Nosotros ni queremos ser colonizados por El España ni por Los Estados Unidos. Estoy yo sorprendido que mi gente no ascendido."

Eugenio de Ostos estuvo viajando en Los Estados Unidos cuando las noticias le llegaron que las tropas norteamericanas hubieron aplastado la independencia puertorriqueña con una invasión: "Los sacrificios serán mucho ... pero La Independencia de Nuestra isla progresará."

Antes la invasión 91% de la tierra perteneció a los agricultores puertorriqueños. Tabaco y azúcar comprendieron 66% de la producción, pero en 1900 esta producción fue puesta y controlado por los capitalistas yanquis. Los norteamericanos poseían la otra tierra y controlaban las reformas chicas agrícolas. El entre-comercio de La Isla quedaba en la dirección de lo selecto Español. La burguesa puertorriqueña que se estableció antes la invasión yanqui fue secundario en su explotación del proletariado en comparación a los norteamericanos.

Café hubo sobreesado azucar como un origen de ingreso para los capitalistas, y en la última parte de 1900 80% de la cosecha de café fue puesto por el gobierno norteamericano. Trabajadores y campesinos fueron pagados 50% mas bajo que hubieron recibido bajo el regimen Español. La carne y el arroz convinieron comodidades lujosas bajo venta al por menor y la producción de los intereses de los comercios norteamericanos.

En 1901 Los Estados Unidos crearon una systema educadora cual Ingles con-veniera el idioma oficial, así comenzó la eradicación de la cultura de Puerto Rico desde los mentes de su juventud.

En 1916 Jose De Diego un abogado famoso de la Iglesia Católica comenzó a llenar una disertación de hechos históricos y economicas exponer la explotación criminal de no solamente los recursos de Puerto Rico, pero también su gente.

En 1917 con la llegada de la guerra imperialista Los Estados Unidos declararon que Puerto Rico fue una colonia oficial, por hacer eso pudieron a mandar a los jovenes puertorriqueños a la guerra y al mismo tiempo privieron la isla de una fuerza revolucionaria.

En 1920 la lucha para La Independencia de Puerto Rico, todavía joven y pre-matura, encontró un brazo político en la creación del Partido Nacionalista. En sus estados tempranos se concentró en la critica del imperialismo yanqui y las ventas esporadicas de literatura. En 1924 una epoca nueva nació en Puerto Rico y una página de la historia estaba esperando ser llenado. Errar entre el Partido Nacionalista fue joven cuando se graduo de leyes desde Harvard, con un cutis moreno, su nombre fue Pedro Albizu Campos, un nombre que las luchas universales de la liberación nacional abrazarán siempre. Pedro volvió a La Isla en 1924 después de su hosti-gamiento porque de su color por el militar norteamericano. Después su registro entre el Partido Nacionalista, Albizu Campos fue elegido vicepresidente del Partido. En 1926 él fue nombrado como un representante del Partido a viajar a países latino-americanos varios para que se puso el corriente de La Independencia y movimientos revolucionarios en esos países. No tuvo mucho tiempo para que el señor Pedro Albizu aprender que fue su fuerza inconquistable que hubo despertado a los millones de La



Isla a la llamada de La Liberación; fue su voz que razonaba en todas las aldeas y en todas las ciudades que hubo sacudido los grillos de las masas; fue su ferocidad revolucionaria que hubo vuelto el todo orden social establecida de las burguesas-colonialistas lo de arriba abajo. El hijo de un matrimonio del caipo de Fonce fue a llegar a ser el orgullo y gloria de 'La Boricua'.

Durante 1932, abajo la dirección del Doctor Campos, El Partido Nacionalista entró a las campañas electorales con El Señor Albizu como un candidato para senador a lo largo. Antes la noche de la elección los periódicos pronorteamericanos comenzaron una campaña anti-nacionalista inundar la isla con acusaciones contra Pedro Albizu. Su campaña propaganda no fue bastante, porque manipuló fraudulentamente las elecciones y por eso Pedro Albizu perdió, sin embargo en su derrota al candidato de los multimillonarios él obtuvo 12,000 votos.

Anoche antes la derrota de Pedro, la depresión que hubo empezado, más o menos en 1925 (Capitalismo impede sus posesiones extranjeras antes de aplica miseria económica a su propia clase trabajadora) empezaba desleir las fundaciones de la burguesía y de bajo de ella las clases más baja ya estaba decayendo, compeler a los campesinos a mover desde el campo a la ciudad, y más tarde a emigrar a Nueva York.

Durante 1933 las fuerzas sociales del proletariado empezaron a gritar sus opresiones a la clase que gobernó la Isla en muchas demostraciones. Una de estas demostraciones fue dirigidos por Albizu contra el monopolio Yanqui, Porto Rico Railway, Light and Power Co. lo que la huelga de los trabajadores se hubo salido con suyas. Durante 1934 él dirigió campaña varias contra los latifundistas y los patronos por conducir huelgas de cortadores de caña de azúcar. Imperialismo estaba empezando a decaer dentro de confusión de su propia depresión. La degeneración y la perversión de las masas por los mecanicos de la clase elevada producieron proles multiples de contradicciones ^{y indujeron} revolución como el orden del día. Coronel Francis J. Riggs, Jefe de La Policía y Guardia de corps de Gobernador Winship ofreciera a Albizu Campos que quitiera sus campaña. No consentió Pedro; desde que él convino una peligrosa política a los intereses comercios y monstruosos sobre La Isla.

En 24 de Octubre de 1935 4 miembros del Partido Nacionalista fueron asesinados por las policía sobre ordenes desde Coronel Riggs. Los miembros fueron parte de una demostración a protestar una pro-imperialista burgués asamblea de estudiantes. Durante Diciembre de 1935, 25,000 miembros del Partido Nacionalista compusieron una petición demandar la resignación de Coronel Riggs, la retirada de intereses comercios Yanquis y la retirada de las tropas norteamericanas desde La Isla. En 4 de Marzo de 1936 en una batalla de fusiles con 3 miembros juvenes (a página 218)

del Partido Nacionalista Coronel Riggs fue tirado y matado. Más tarde la policía arrestó a Elias Beauchamp uno de los guerreros de la libertad que envolvió en el incidente y su amigo Hiram Rosado. Después de la detención Elias y Hiram fueron torturados y matados adentro la estación de la policía. En 4 de Marzo de 1936 en La Universidad de Puerto Rico Pedro Albizu, durante una tentativa a reclutar a paisanos en el ejército Nacionalista, fue arrestado. Un censo que fue tomado por los estudiantes antes su detención demostró que los seguidores de Don Pedro hubieron recogido a más de 250 voluntarios durante unos cuantos horas. Anteceder su detención el Doctor Campos fue acusado con instigar la batalla de fusiles lo que fue matado el Coronel Riggs. En Julio de 1936 La Unión de Las Libertades Civiles norteamericanas mandó una comite a defender al Señor Campos. En el mismo mes en el Congreso de Los Estados Unidos, un representante de Nueva York, El Señor Vito Marcantonio, defendió los derechos de Albizu y la lucha de la liberación en Puerto Rico. Contra el alegato del defensa fue el Doctor Ernest Gruening (el senador 'liberal' desde Alaska) quien fue El Director Del Comité Del Proyecto Reedificación de Puerto Rico y comisionado de Divisiones de Territorios y posesiones de Islas. El señor Gruening denunció el movimiento de la independencia en Puerto Rico e infamó Pedro como un peligro al Gobierno norteamericano. Con los noticieros proimperialistas sobre La Isla condenar a Albizu, y la convicción de culpa sostenido por el coloso de Departamento del Estado Yanqui, el jurado que comprendió por completo de hombres Yanquis de negocios convenió a Don Pedro.

El juez Norteamericano lo (Albizu) sentenció al penitenciarío de Atlanta por siete años. Durante todo el ensayo ningún puertorriqueño pudo entrar al cuarto de corte.

El movimiento de la independencia se hubo puesto mejor desde un infante prematuro en un brazo revolucionario de las masas, una fuerza ubicua canalada por los pasos de la liberación nacional destrozando los pilares de explotación humana, tronar en las partes de la intuición burguesa, desarraigar su superficie que estuvo tuvo deteriorando. Para 1937 El Partido Nacionalista ya fue construido en un núcleo movilizado de miles de personas. El Partido no había atraído solamente a los disocupados, los trabajadores y los campesinos, pero también los estudiantes, y maestros y los profesores en Las Universidades. Realizar la potencial política de tan fuerza dinámica, El Gobernador Winship con el auxilio de burocratas varios puertorriqueños en secreto hubo ordenado una matanza en la ciudad (a página 219)



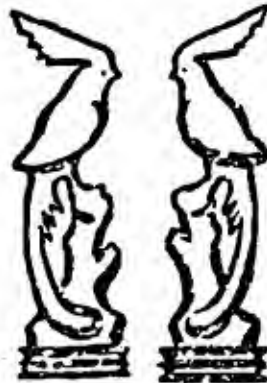
de Ponce. Durante una parada de cadetes jóvenes nacionalistas y enfermeras nacionalistas. La policía de Ponce, y las tropas Yanquis abajo la dirección de coronel Orbeta cuñado de Dioniso Trigo, el representante fascista de Franco en Puerto Rico, mataron atrozmente a 50 a 70 hombres, mujeres y niños, y herieron a 150. En una calle vacía en Ponce, un revolucionario que estuvo sangrando tropezó a la acera y escribió con su propia sangre:

¡ Viva la Republica !
 ¡ Abajo los Asesinos !

De las tropas y de la policía que mataron a niños puertorriqueños en ese día sangriento no vino una a justicia. Coronel Orbeta quien hubo dirigido la matanza de gente continuó ser un coronel y el Jefe de La Policía. El Gobernador Winship quien hubo ordenado la matanza quedaba "Al Gran Padre Blanco" de Puerto Rico.

Con la erupción de la segunda guerra mundial La Revolución en Puerto Rico vino a una interrupción pero el día infame en Ponce fue moldeado en las páginas de historia verdadera, un obstáculo de la verquenza en los mentes de liberales y un recordario de la venganza al puertorriqueño que vivió ese día.

La última parte de este artículo está en SOULBOOK 4



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notes on james boggs' american revolution

by ernie allen & kenn m. freeman

The following article is a review essay of the book, American Revolution, Notes from a Negro Worker's Notebook, which was written by Brother James Boggs (Monthly Review Press, 1961)

(This is part one, part two will appear in SOULBOOK 4)



THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

Boggs begins by noting the change which has occurred in the character of the American working class, beginning with the period of the 1930's up to the present; whereas many workers during the 30's were illiterate, their children are the engineers and scientists of today. Thus we are left with the situation of the working class being, Boggs states, "so dispersed and transformed by the very nature of the changes in production that it is almost impossible to select out any single bloc of workers as working class in the old sense....."

this working class is growing, as Marx predicted, but it is not the old working class which the radicals persist in believing will create the revolution and establish control over production. There are only 12 million of these production workers left in American industry, out of a total work force of 68 million." (pp. 15-16)

So Boggs says that these changes in production have influenced the character of the working class in three primary ways; these factors have in turn brought their influence to bear upon the very nature of production, as well as influencing and interacting between one another. Boggs views these resulting changes as the following:

- (i) the working class has grown
- (ii) work has become diversified
- (iii) labor leadership has become bourgeois

Thus, The American Revolution lays waste to a basic premise of many, contemporary so-called Marxists in the U. S. who would depend (at least in a theoretical sense) upon the existing working class to be instrumental in establishing a "workers state" in place of the present capitalist (ie racist) system. Not only are old myths destroyed, but an analysis is given by Boggs which we feel will greatly aid Black Americans in their task of providing a viable program for total Black Liberation on a worldwide scale.

THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF PRODUCTION & THE SUBSEQUENT SELLOUT OF THE WORKERS
BY THE UNION LEADERS

In developing organizations to fulfill this task of liberation it is important that Afroamericans learn both from the past failures and accomplishments, strong points and weaknesses, of organizations -- particularly those which have based themselves upon the strength of the masses. Boggs' position is that "By examining the industrial revolution, and unemployment, we can get some idea of the revolutionary changes that have so rapidly developed in America, directly leading to changes in

the nature of work, the social composition of various strata of the population." (p. 15) Taking the United Auto Workers as the model for the CIO, Boggs runs down the history of the labor movement and points out the fact that there were more workers who were organized into the union than were those who organized the union, and furthermore, that all workers did not participate in strikes.

Now, what did the union do in order to improve working conditions and to procure extra benefits for the workers in the shop? In short, what were its accomplishments? Before World War II the workers, acting through the union, "... had the power to intimidate management, from the foreman up to the top (cont. p. 222)

achieved, forcing them to yield to workers' demands whenever production standards were in dispute "(p 18) In other words, the union gave the workers control over production At the same time; "it must be clearly understood that the workers in taking hold in the plants did not take power." (emphasis added by an A/era) They only took hold of the plants. They did not take over the state government, or the national government, or the city police, or the National Guard nor the army " The union was instrumental in forcing management to hire workers who ordinarily would never have obtained jobs, but we do not wish to infer that the union was a panacea to the problems of labor. For as Boggs points out, "Even in their best days, it should be remembered, the CIO and AFL were not able to do much about unemployment. In 1939, when the Second World War began, there were still more than 9 million unemployed, well over twice today's official figure." (p. 53)

During World War II, labor acquired "respectability." Where before its representatives were workers in the shop, during the war labor leaders were conferring in Washington with heads of government. At this stage the "labor leadership" was no longer the leadership of labor, and, in effect, joined with the power structure in the suppression of labor. But in spite of the fact that the union held continual negotiations with the government and made agreements not to strike during the second world war, Boggs points out that there were 8, 708 strikes involving four million workers in 1943 and 1944 alone. These "wildcat" strikes by labor, during WWII, involving basic human rights within the shop, circumvented the "authority" of the union and was the first indication that labor and "labor leadership" were struggling towards entirely different goals: labor for control of production and procurement of human rights within the shop, "leadership" for control of the workers.

As the gulf between labor and leadership was widening, and because of the fact that during the war the WLB was settling the matter of wages, the union, in an effort to demonstrate its "necessity" to the workers, began trying to change job classifications so that workers could obtain a few cents more an hour.

However, the era of progressive reform inside the union movement really ended on V-J day, for the control of production and human relations which workers had achieved were now completely shunted aside by the union; the emphasis was now placed upon economic rather than human relations. In the General Motors strike of 1945-46 the wage increases and fringe benefits won by the union were hailed as "great social progress." In 1948, under the "Security Clause," the union returned to management the right to run production as it saw fit. And when automation came upon the scene in 1955, the union began (cont. p. 223)

attempts to ease out the workers through the use of pensions, severance pay, and a "profit-sharing" plan designed to incorporate the remaining workers into management. Boggs concludes that :

Thus, after 25 years, the UAW has given back to management every right over production won in the movement of the 1930's and the war years. Today the workers are doing in eight hours the actual physical work they used to do in twelve. (p.26-7)

What lessons can Black Americans then learn from the experience which our brother, James Boggs has obtained from the union movement? Boggs explains the failure of the union by stating that "...all organizations that spring up in a capitalist society and do not take absolute power, but rather fight only on one tangential or essential aspect of that society are eventually incorporated into capitalist society." (p.28)

This statement is good as far as it goes, but we feel the need to point out that these organizations of which Boggs is speaking will (unless they take absolute power) either be incorporated into the society, infiltrated and/or obliterated by the state "gendarmes" (i.e. FBI, CIA, etc.), or will become virtually sterile and lose effectiveness through a continual revision and "watering down" of their once-militant programs. These are significant factors to consider when analyzing the present state of labor organizations run by the white ruling class, the National Association for the Advancement of Certain People, and certain bourgeois, pseudo-Black Nationalist organizations which are carrying the FBI's stamp of "approval"; once an organization becomes "respectable" in the eyes of the power structure, one can well be assured that it poses no threat to the existing socio-economic and political structure, and that its aims are corrupted by the said apparatus.

AUTOMATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY

The contradictions which presently exist between Black and White America, as well as those internal to each of these two nations, will become deeply intensified as automation thunders ahead; also, new contradictions will continue to rise during its process of development. Boggs views these intensified (antagonistic) contradictions as being grouped primarily about the following three areas :



- (i) the permanently-unemployed and the employed
- (ii) the "young" workers and "old" workers within the plant
- (iii) the union and the workers

Boggs places quite a bit of importance upon the first contradiction because it is a problem which encompasses the entire socio-economic structure: "This antagonism in the population between those who have to be supported and those who have to support them is one of the inevitable antagonisms of capitalism." (p. 37) Thus the contradiction between the unemployed and the employed is viewed correctly by Boggs as a factor which is inherent to the nature of capitalism; he notes, however, that automation introduces a new factor: the problem of the permanently-unemployed man. As Boggs states, "what is new is that now, unlike most earlier periods, the displaced men have nowhere to go." (emphasis added by kmf & ea; p. 36). His analysis continues; not only will the unemployed be pitted against the employed, but in consideration of the overall society Boggs states that: "those who propose that the unemployed be allowed to starve to death rather than continue as a drain on the public. . ." (p. 37) will stand in direct opposition to "those who cannot stand by and see society degenerate into such barbarism." (p. 37) Later we will return to this point and examine its relevance to the problems of Black America; presently we will concern ourselves with Boggs' approach to the solution of problems incurred through automation.

"The dilemma before the workers and the American people is: How can we have automation and still earn our livings?" (.35)

In examining different chapters in The American Revolution one sees that Boggs' solution to this problem of automation vs. income is tinged with ambivalence on one hand he speaks of a social revolution in the U.S. which will uproot "whitey's" system of degenerate capitalism and in its place implant the roots of a socialist society where exploitation of man by man will be eliminated. On the other hand Boggs apparently is looking for a patchwork formula within capitalism (i.e. reformism) which will help the workers to survive and to maintain for themselves an adequate standard of living, for he seems to suggest that the root cause of the problems of income distribution and maintenance of consumption is to be found within the income-through-jobs link. This suspicion of ours becomes real when we discover that Boggs signed the now-famous document known as The Triple Revolution (which stated in so many words that the most important reform needed in the U.S. today was the abolishment of the income-thru-jobs link). Also, in his The Rights of Man in an Age of Abundance Boggs states that "... a man's (cont.)

right to a living should no longer be tied to his work... "2.

This same theme pops up again in his fourth chapter:

"This nation cannot long endure short on rights and long on goods. We must accept the plain fact that we are moving towards an automated society and act on the basis of this fact.

The first principle that has to be established is that everyone has a right to full life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, whether he is working or not.
(emphasis added by kaffka)

Now, how does Boggs form the bridge between his advocating the destruction of the income-through-jobs link, which is, in the context of a capitalist society, essentially reformism, and revolution, the complete uprooting of this society? First of all he feels that in a capitalist society the vast majority of workers will lose their jobs because the furthering of automation and cybernation will eliminate these jobs and will not create a sufficient number of others. Thus, for these people (and particularly Black people) to survive in this society it will be necessary to abolish the income-thru-jobs link. He then goes on to say that this will force the capitalists to feed a vast army of the permanently-unemployed, thus causing an unbearable strain on those who have jobs and pay taxes, and those who do not have jobs and do not pay taxes. Finally, he suggests that this new contradiction will eventually produce the ultimate crisis of capitalism, as opposed to the orthodox-Marxian prediction that the antagonism between the worker and capitalist is the decisive contradiction which will cause the fall of capitalism and provide the motive force for a new social order.

Now, we disagree with Boggs on at least one important point: his implication that work is somehow not a necessity for mankind, in general, to live.

We agree that if a man cannot work then he should be given means in order to live adequately. In spite of this fact we still feel that work is still a necessary part of man's life; there is an abundance of evidence to show that man developed from a lower to a higher being by working (with both his head and his hands), and we believe that man will continue to master nature and to solve his problems by working. Therefore we feel that work should not be deemphasized, even though it may not be necessary in the productive process, because of its essentiality to the further development of man. We must keep in mind also that the definition of productive work is certainly capable of being broadened, so that under this new definition, for example, research, the arts and other creative ventures could conceivably be included.

Boggs points out that most people (and this includes many Marxists) "..... have not been able to face the fact that even if the workers took over the plants

they would also be faced with the problem of what to do with themselves now that work is become socially unnecessary. They have not been able to face this fact because they have no clear idea of what people would do with themselves, what would be their human role, or how society would be organized when work is no longer at the heart of society." (p. 41)

So Boggs hits the nail upside the head; since the U.S. is presently the most technologically advanced country in the world, today's problems of production relations in this highly-technical capitalist society will be tomorrow's problems in socialist societies as the instruments of production in these societies reach a level of sophistication. But keep in mind that it is only within a capitalist society where lack of work, and hence, lack of income seem to always reach crisis proportions (i.e. result in contradictions of an antagonistic sort), whereas in a socialist society, time not used in production work can be channeled (at least to the extent that it is a planned economy) into healthy areas such as the arts and other creative, peaceful ventures. However, in a "workers' state" the solution to the challenge of automation tends toward the removal of one of the cornerstones of Marxism-Leninism, since Lenin's statement that "he who does not work shall not eat" becomes an anachronism when work is no longer economically necessary.

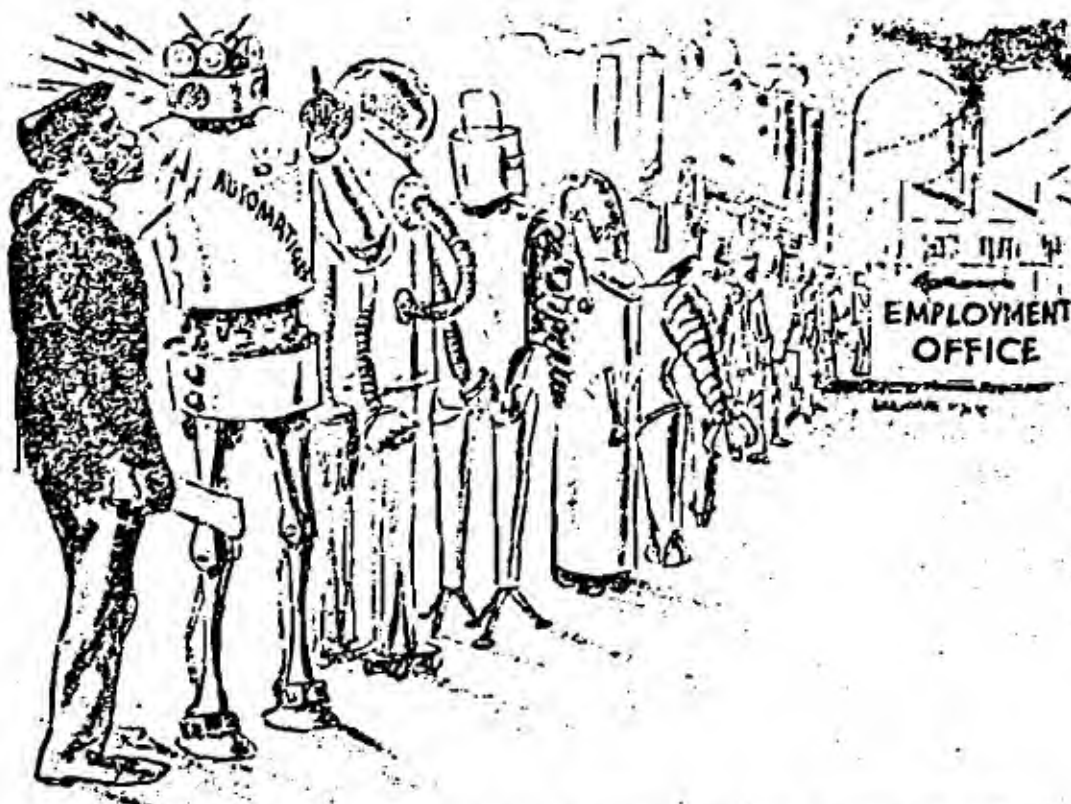
Boggs shows that the retraining of displaced workers for new jobs requiring greater skills is of dubious value because automation also eliminates these skilled jobs without creating more or even the same number (although there is not enough evidence to substantiate this claim at the present time, or, probably more correctly, the evidence is being hidden from the public, we feel that when automation is in full swing this claim will prove to be true). But there is an additional factor which makes retraining even more of a farce for Afroamerica, for, in the nationwide programs for job retraining, the fact that employment agencies discriminate against Black workers in favor of white workers for entrance into these programs has been exposed. ³

Thus, Black Americans, who are already the most socio-economically oppressed group in the U.S. (as well as those Indians who have survived the merciless slaughter of the white oppressor), are suffering most from just the initial phase of automation, and will most certainly be the group which will suffer most when automation is in full swing. And as the pro-business Research Institute of America said: "The moment of truth on Automation is coming -- a lot sooner than most people realize." ⁴

* * *

factnetus

1. James Beggs. "The Rights of Men in an Age of Abundance," p. 93, REVOLUTION, Vol. 1, No. 8
2. C. E. Wilson. "Automation and the Negro: Will He Survive?", p. 10 Liberator, Vol. V, No. 7, (July, 1965).
3. J. Smith. "Cybernation: The Potential Problems of a 'Workless Society' ", p. 5, National Guardian, (Nov. 21, 1964)



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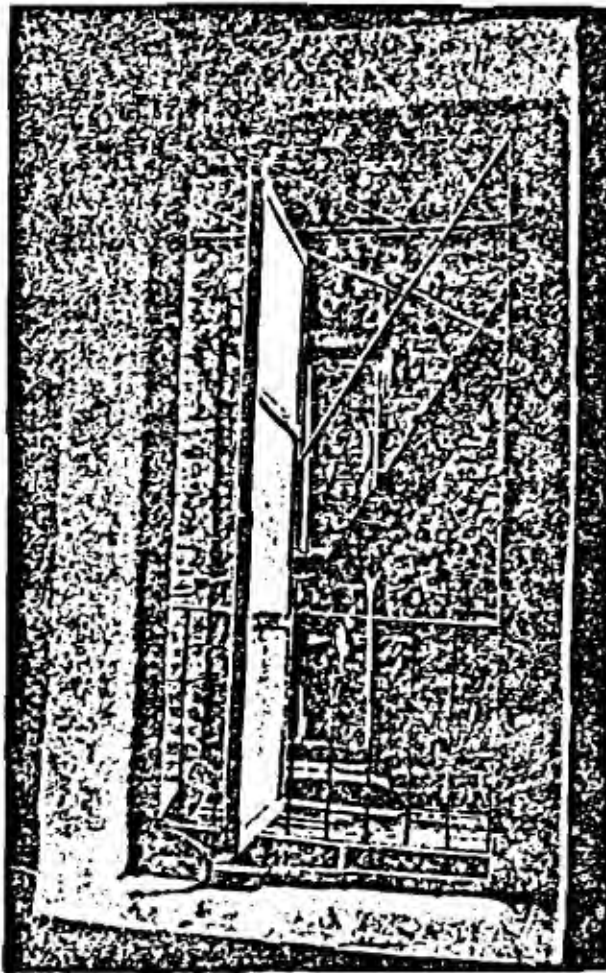
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ERRATA

1. Page 151 second line should read "castrati of..."
2. Page 156 line 14 should read "The presence of..."
3. Page 179: line 5 "slipping" should be slopping. line 22 should be "dawn land"
4. Page 226 line 10 reads "level"; should read "higher level".
5. Page 192 line 17 "...awaited beneficent lord saw sheets
white mist while..."
6. Page 158 Cartoon reprinted from Bohemia. 7. Page 155 photo reproduced from
Peking Review 8. Page 198 Cartoon reprinted from Bohemia
9. Page 219 Figure reprinted from Peking Review 10. Page 223 Cartoon reprinted
Peking Review 11. Page 227 cartoon reprinted from Muhammad Speaks
12. Page 203 line 15 "imperialist" should be imperialism.
13. Page 181 line 13 "democrat" should be democrats. 14. Page 171 line 4 edit
"to an important degree....."
14. The smudge-mark on the cover photo was the fault of the printer; it was
not the fault of the photographer.

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105-93124-163

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :
FROM :
SUBJECT:

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 11/29/65

SAC, NEW YORK (105-32872) (P*)

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SESSION
(OO: SJ)

ReNYlet, 4/9/65.

A review of the files of the NYO, pertaining to the Puerto Rican independence movement, has been made for the purpose of developing counterintelligence measures against this movement.

The principal organizations in NY are the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR), the Movimiento Libertador de Puerto Rico (MLPR) and the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI). The factional struggle within the MLPR is presently dormant but could erupt at any time as the faction in power at the present time continues to attempt to prevent [redacted] and his supporters from having a voice vote in the NY Junta. [redacted] in turn has established a group of his supporters in the Citizens Committee For the Freedom of All Political Prisoners in Puerto Rico. [redacted] leader of the MLPR is presently on parole from incarceration and is relatively inactive because he feels activity by him will cause his parole to be revoked. The MPI - NY Mission is presently relatively free of factional struggle. The NYO is currently considering a counterintelligence move against MPI member [redacted] who caused disgruntlement among MPI members because of statements of his which were published. The Bureau will be accordingly advised of this plan when fully developed.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Juan (105-3353-SUB I) (RM) EX 105
- 1 - New York

REC-80 105-32872-124

RKS:egb
(5)

NOV 30 1965



NY 105-32872

Informants have reported that feelings of suspicion, jealousy and constant bickering between leaders of the organizations in New York has continued, causing a notable lack of cooperation. There has been some cooperation between the NPPR and the MPI, but only for public commemorative meetings. A source on the MPI has reported that leaders of this organization are concerned that the NPPR is leaning too much towards the position of the MLPR and accordingly are attempting to rectify any disagreements between the MPI and the NPPR.

The NYO will remain alert to any situation whereby logical counterintelligence measures could be safely taken if deemed necessary and advisable to further disrupt the Puerto Rican independence movement in NY. In view of the above this case is being placed in a pending inactive status for the present.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)
W.E.
a.c.g.

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(Subversive Control Section)
IS-PRN
(OO: SAN JUAN)

DATE: 11/18/65

Re San Juan teletype to the Bureau and New York,
11/15/65, captioned, "MPIPR; IS-PRN."

As set out in referenced teletype, the headquarters of the MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR), #1122 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Rio Piedras, were badly damaged by fire on the night of 11/14/65.

The official MPIPR reaction, as stated by present Secretary General LORENZO PINEIRO RIVERA and former secretary general JUAN MARI BRAS, is that the fire was the work of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and/or undercover agents paid by them.

According to MARI BRAS, the fire destroyed all records of the organization and as a result, administration and communication matters have been badly disrupted.

It is noted that the [REDACTED] has made available to the San Juan office fire-damaged MPIPR records which were recovered [REDACTED] at the scene of the fire. These records are presently being scrutinized by the SJO for information of counterintelligence interest.

The Bureau will be advised of any further pertinent information in this matter.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (RM) (Info)
2 - San Juan
ACG:gjk
(5)

EX 110

REC-51

NOV 22 1965

SUBV. CONTROL

50 DEC 1 1965



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date: 9/30/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. Felt _____
- Mr. Gale _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Tavel _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)
FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: SJ)

The 9/22/65 edition of the "Carta Semanal," the weekly newsletter of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia De Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR), contained an article written by LORENZO PINIERO, the Secretary General of that organization, in which he pointed out that MPI members should not take part in any independence activities or demonstrations organized by other independence groups unless approval had been granted by the MPI official.

During the past week FRANCISCO COLON GORDIANY addressed the Puerto Rican Bar Association and told them about his attempts to influence the United Nations (U.N.) Committee which deals with colonialism in non-self-governing countries and which is popularly referred to as the U. N. Committee of 24 to bring before the U.N. the question of independence for Puerto Rico. During his talk GORDIANY mentioned that the Puerto Rico Anti-Colonialist Congress, of which he is a leader, intended to have a pro-independence demonstration in the San Juan area in the near future.

The SJO feels that the comments made by PINIERO in the "Carta Semanal" were directed critically at these statements regarding the demonstration made by GORDIANY, which are referred to above.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (Info) (RM)
- 1 - San Juan

EJH/jsw
(5)

REC-65

105 93124-157

X 109

18 OCT 6 1965

AIRTEL
Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M. Per _____

It is felt that a certain amount of disunity among the ranks of the independence movement can be caused by disseminating a leaflet under the auspices of our fictitious "Grupo Pro Uso Voto Del MPI", criticizing the attitude which PINIERO has taken. The leaflet would imply that LORENZO PINIERO is an ineffectual figurehead used by JUAN MARI BRAS, former Secretary General of the MPI, to control the activities of the organization for MARI BRAS.

The leaflet will also be critical of MARI BRAS' action in New York where he recently attempted to focus the attention of the Committee of 24 on the problem of Puerto Rico independence and on his current independence activity in the European continent.

The text of the proposed leaflet is as follows:

"ARE WE TIRED?"

"The quavering voice of our former young leader," as quoted, the aging Lorenzo Piniero, is once again telling us that we must struggle for independence only within the MPI. He tells us that we are forbidden to work shoulder to shoulder with our brothers in the other independence organizations.

"Can it really be that LORENZO PINIERO is interested in a disciplined effort toward independence or is it merely that he is tiring of the struggle?"

"We see the lawyer Mari Bras vacationing in Europe. Is he also tired? Admittedly, Mari Bras' struggle in New York before the U.N. was taxing and difficult. Admittedly, Mari Bras, like other politicians, does not enjoy facing the people when he has failed them, particularly when there was a loss of prestige and great expenditure of MPI funds in his abortive effort, but the solution to a problem is not to run away and hide!

"Contrast the actions of MARI BRAS with those of lawyer COLON GORDIANY, who engaged in the same losing battle in New York and yet had the courage to come back to the Island and face the Bar Association and the people. He is not tired. He calls for a renewal of the effort. Why are we forbidden to unite with them in a massive demonstration?"

SJ 105-3353.

"We, the young Puerto Ricans, are not tired. We stand ready to continue the struggle. Must we wait idly while our leaders rest? We will continue the fight and we will join with any independence group within or outside the MPI in the unending struggle for liberty and the fatherland."

"Grupo Pro Uso Voto Del MPI"

As has been done in the past, we propose to mail this leaflet from outlying areas to those persons on our portion of the MPIPR mailing list and selected independence leaders and sympathizers.

It is believed that the leaflet represents an opportunity to counteract unification efforts and undermine the leadership of the MPI in the Puerto Rican independence movement.

Bureau authority is solicited to put this proposed plan into effect while MARI BRAS is still outside the country.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124) DATE: September 23, 1965

FROM : *W. J. W.* SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1) (P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: San Juan)

Re San Juan airtel dated August 5, 1965, and Bureau airtel dated August 10, 1965.

The Spanish language leaflet proposed in referenced San Juan airtel and authorized in referenced Bureau airtel was mailed under secure conditions at Guaynabo, Puerto Rico, and Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, on August 18, 1965.

Reaction to the leaflet was immediate and gratifying.

The August 20, 1965 edition of the San Juan Spanish language daily newspaper "El Mundo," in its political column "Trasfondo," written by MIGUEL A. SANTIN, Sub-Director of "El Mundo," quoted excerpts from the leaflet and made derogatory comments concerning unity efforts by the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR) and the apparent failure of these efforts, pointing up the fact that the Pro-Independence Party (PIP) had resisted all efforts toward unification.

Two copies of a translation of SANTIN's column are attached for the Bureau and one for New York for examination.

On August 24, 1965, [redacted] advised that at a meeting of the MPI, Guayama, Puerto Rico Zone, on [redacted] member of the MPI General Assembly and MPI Unity Commission, had announced that a

- ② - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (Info)
- 2 - San Juan

REC-8 100-13151

ST-126 25 SEP 27 1965

ACG:sck
(5)

ENCLOSURE

SUBV. CONTROL

OCT 1 1965

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

leaflet ridiculing MPI unity efforts was presently being circulated under the name Grupo Pro-Usó Voto del MPI. He said that if the leaflet was being circulated by the Secret Police this implied that someone had furnished them the names and addresses of MPI second-level members. He added that because of this, these second-level members should not continue their MPI work and that the MPI leadership must make every effort to determine the identity of the writers of the leaflet because the leaflet was greatly affecting the progress of the MPI.

On August 26, 1965, [redacted] advised the leadership of the MPI is very disturbed over a leaflet which was recently circulated under the name Grupo Pro-Usó Voto del MPI which sarcastically evaluates the unity movement within the MPI. He stated MPI officials are particularly concerned because many individuals receiving the leaflet are not openly members of the MPI and the feeling is that individuals with access to the official mailing list must be involved in the Grupo Pro-Usó Voto del MPI.

On August 30, 1965, [redacted] advised that a leaflet concerning unity efforts by the MPI was being circulated under the name Grupo Pro-Usó Voto del MPI and that although the stated position of the MPI leadership is that the leaflet is the work of the Police of Puerto Rico (POPR), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), or the FBI, [redacted] and [redacted] and other MPI youth leaders are openly speculating that the leaflet may be a disruptive effort by a few ambitious leaders among the MPI youth who aspire to higher levels of leadership.

San Juan Office
Analysis of the Above

It is noted that "El Mundo" is the oldest, largest, most respected and most widely read newspaper in Puerto Rico and is also decidedly pro-United States. The devoting of the "Trasfondo" column to the leaflet exceeded all expectations, and it is believed that this has served to point up, to the general public, the failure of JUAN MARI BRAS and the MPI to successfully unify the various pro-independence groups. It has also made the rank and file membership of the MPI aware

SJ 105-3353 Sub 1

of the failure of unification efforts and might conceivably result in resistance by the rank and file to further efforts in that direction.

The admitted concern by MPI leaders that police agencies are aware of the identities of second-level members of the organization further points up the success of the leaflet since identities of second-level members (principally people employed by the Commonwealth Government) are supposed to be secret from all but a few of the MPI leaders. It is therefore believed that the leaflet has had a definite deterrent effect on the second-level membership and its activities and may cause many of these individuals to cease efforts on behalf of the MPI completely.

The open speculation by prominent young MPI leaders and [redacted] that the leaflet may be the work of ambitious members of MPI youth further points up the confusion and distrust caused within the MPI leadership by the leaflet. It is believed this distrust may possibly prove to be another crack in the MPI armor and consideration will be given in the near future to attempt further exploitation in that direction.

The Bureau will be advised of any further pertinent results received from the recent disruptive tactic.

What about the unification of all independentists?

Everybody recalls that right after PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS' death, a lot was said about the unification of all those who advocate independence.

Presumably, this organization would cover all the members of the PIP, the MPI, the Nationalists and others who belong to small splintered groups from the Nationalist Party.

In a dramatic gesture, and in order to precipitate unification, Attorney JUAN MARI BRAS resigned from his position as Secretary General of the MPI, and his gesture was useless.

The PIP has not shown any interest in unification, and some days ago the MPI delegate to the United Nations, JOSE ANTONIO GONZALEZ, was complaining that the PIP had not even supported the attempts of the Independence Movement so that the Special Committee of 24 would discuss "the Puerto Rican issue."

Later, the PIP presented its request.

Nothing has been heard from other groups.

New a group that names itself "Grupo Pro Uso Voto Del MPI" is circulating a letter entitled "Unity With Respect To What?" and which reads partly as follows:

"Well, it seems that our former young leader, unable to face the realities of the dismal failure of his electoral strike, and disappointed because his faithful followers did not beg him to continue in his former capacity, has decided to devote himself to bigger and better things, namely, the unification of all pre-independence groups in Puerto Rico.

"But, unification in what respect? Unity for another electoral strike campaign which could be an even greater and costlier fiasco than the last because more groups and people will be involved? Who knows, perhaps with unified action of all independence groups, the pre-independence portion of the vote can drop even lower, perhaps to even no vote at all...

"Enough, we say, enough of false premises and false prophets...!"

"Unity yes, but unity in a moral and dedicated sense to the struggle for independence. Surely everyone must realize, since recent events in the Dominican Republic and Viet Nam, that the Paper Tiger to the north may not be entirely paper. They must realize that our only hope for independence is through patient and hard work. The polls are still the answer. We must get a tee held in the legislature and plead our case before all the people. Independence will not be achieved through the egotistical rantings of political demagogues..."

Unity?

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: 9/13/65

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (105-32872)

SUBJECT:

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
IS-PRN

*Serial 105-43124-135
not changed to 105-66754
due to 9/17 am. conf.
per contact with BUL per
11/28/65 Am/BC
NY advised of direct Am*

Handwritten notes:
553
11/1

"El Diario - La Prensa", a New York Spanish language newspaper, in its issue of 9/13/65, page 4, carried an article datelined September 12, United Nations, disclosing that a petition signed by 400 persons was presented to the United Nations requesting "the case of Puerto Rico" be placed on the agenda of the Committee of 24 for consideration by the World Organization. Among those signing the petition were "more than 70 doctors, some 100 attorneys, engineers, architects, pharmacists, merchants, union, civic and religious leaders". According to this account, the petition was delivered to the President of the General Assembly ALEX QUARISON SACKKEY, by a commission composed of PIRI FERNANDEZ LEWIS, RAFAEL SOLTERO PERALTA and FRANCISCO COLON GORDIANY. The petition was filed by the Secretary and copies delivered to Ambassador SORI COULIBALY of Mali, President of the Committee of 24 and head of the Working Subcommittee of the Committee of 24. The Working Subcommittee to which the petition was directed is composed of Mali, India, Uruguay, Cambodia, Bulgaria, Sierra Leone, Iraq and Italy.

"The New York Times" of 9/13/65, page 32, carried a half page petition captioned, "PUERTO RICO CALLS TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD" which requested the Working Subcommittee of the Committee of 24 to include the case of Puerto Rico on its agenda for study and decision. This petition appeared over the name of the Steering Committee, YAMIL GALIB, President and RAFAEL SOLTERO PERALTA, Secretary; its address was listed as Box 1403 Hato Rey, Puerto Rico. On this petition were some 375 names all of whom appeared to be residents of Puerto Rico.

A copy of this item from "The New York Times" is attached for the information of the Bureau and San Juan.

- 2 - Bureau (Att.1) (RM) EX 110
- 2 - San Juan (105-3353) (Info.) (Att.1) (RM) (1-105-3401)
- 1 - New York (105-39139)
- 1 - New York

RKS:mrn
(6)

ENCLOSURE

SEP 14 1965

SUBV. CONTROL

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

DU SEP 14 1965

8/10/65

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

Airtel

To: SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub 1)
From: Director, FBI (105-93124) 153

REC 75
105

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - PRN
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION

Reurairtel 8/5/65.

Bureau authority is granted to prepare and mail the recommended leaflet in the Spanish language as set forth in reairtel. You are to insure that the leaflet will be prepared and mailed in such a manner that it could not be traced back to the Bureau or any Bureau employee. Advise the Bureau of any pertinent results.

NOTE:

The proposed leaflet is a continuation of the counterintelligence program against the MPIPR designed to create dissension within the organization and create distrust of its leader, Juan Mari Bras. This particular leaflet is designed to counteract the efforts presently being made by Mari Bras to unify the various factions of the Puerto Rican independence movement. Prior leaflets in this series have been most disruptive. The last leaflet distributed under the name of the fictitious "Group for Use of the Vote in the MPI" was made in November, 1964. The leaflet will be mailed by the San Juan Office to certain selected independence leaders from an outlying post office in Puerto Rico.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

BGLP:cac
(5) *cur*

329
AUG 16 1965

MAILED
FBI - SAN JUAN
COMM-FBI

W. C. 7/5
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

FBI

Date: 8/5/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)
FROM: SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub 1)
SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE
FOR PUERTO RICO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)
(OO: San Juan)

Since the death of PEDRO ALEIZU CAMPOS and the subsequent resignation of JUAN MARI ERAS from the position of Secretary-General of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia De Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR), JUAN MARI ERAS has devoted most of his time and effort to the unification of the various pro-independence groups in Puerto Rico with some measure of success.

JUAN MARI ERAS was the principal architect of the abortive electoral strike campaign of 1964 which resulted in the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueno (Independence Party of Puerto Rico) (PIP) dropping its share of the votes cast to about 2 1/2%.

Recognizing the need to counteract the unification efforts of JUAN MARI ERAS we propose to mail out a leaflet under the auspices of our fictitious "Grupo Pro Uso Voto Del MPI" which will remind MPI members and independence

- 3- Bureau (RM)
- 1- New York (Info) (RM)
- 1- San Juan
- ACQ:sa
- (5)

REC-75

105-93124-153

AUG 12 1965

EX 105

G. D. WISE

W. G. [Signature]

SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

30
8/10/65
86-0100

P. H. [Signature]

sympathizers of the dismal failure of the electoral strike campaign and will suggest to them that unification of the various independence groups under MARI BRAS' leadership might result in the complete destruction of the independence movement as a political force in Puerto Rico.

The leaflet implies that JUAN MARI BRAS and one of his immediate MPI associates, [REDACTED] might be making personal use of MPI funds and intimates that this practice will increase if unification is accomplished. It also ridicules another MPI leader, [REDACTED]

The text of the proposed leaflet is as follows:

"UNITY WITH RESPECT TO WHAT?"

"Well, it seems that our former young leader, unable to face the realities of the dismal failure of his electoral strike, and disappointed because his faithful followers did not beg him to continue in his former capacity, has decided to devote himself to bigger and better things, namely, the unification of all pro-independence groups in Puerto Rico.

"But, unification in what respect? Unity for another electoral strike campaign which could be an even greater and costlier fiasco than the last because more groups and people will be involved? Who knows, perhaps with unified action of all independence groups, the pro-independence portion of the vote can drop even lower, perhaps to even no vote at all.

"Or perhaps unity will mean that a larger number of our leaders will have the opportunity to live in fashionable homes with new automobiles for themselves and their wives without having to work at their law practices or other businesses. In this way a greater number of our leaders may be able to devote themselves more fully, and comfortably, to our independence cause. They will be able to travel more throughout the island in pursuit of independence. We wonder if our young leader really does devote all of his time to the cause. His family wonders too.

SJ 105-3353

"At least under unification our nickel and dime contributions will perhaps be spread among a larger number of our leaders and more of them can afford servants and the better things in life.

"Enough, we say, enough of false promises and false prophets, enough of the Aging Merchant's junkets on 'diplomatic' missions to Europe with his wife at our expense. Enough of the Intellectual Bald Eagle and his pompous utterances and young ideas.

"Unity yes, but unity in a moral and dedicated sense to the struggle for independence. Surely everyone must realize, since recent events in the Dominican Republic and Viet Nam, that the Paper Tiger to the north may not be entirely paper. They must realize that our only hope for independence is through patient and hard work. The polls are still the answer. We must get a toe hold in the legislature and plead our case before all the people. Independence will not be achieved through the egotistical rantings of political demagogues.

"Grupo Pro Uso Voto Del MPI"

As has been done in the past, we propose to mail this leaflet from a post office in an outlying area to those persons on our portion of the MPIPR mailing list and selected independence leaders and sympathizers.

It is believed that the leaflet represents an opportunity to counteract unification efforts and also further undermine JUAN MARI BRAS as a leader in the Puerto Rican independence movement.

Bureau authority is solicited to immediately put the proposed into effect.